

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2002 • VOLUME 13 • NUMBER 6 • \$3.50

ELECTION SPECIAL

ARNOLD STEINBERG
STATEWIDE RACES

WILLIAM E. SARACINO
CONGRESSIONAL,
STATE SENATE, ASSEMBLY
DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT
BRIEFINGS

M. DAVID STIRLING
RECALLING 1998'S
PROPOSITION 10



Assault on the Democrat Monolith

Can Bill Simon Restore California's Two-Party System?

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A P U B L I C A T I O N O F T H E C A L I F O R N I A P U B L I C P O L I C Y F O U N D A T I O N

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CORRESPONDENCE

History Finished?

Congratulations on John Kurzweil's "The End of (California) History?" (*CPR*, Sept./Oct. 2002). I have read it twice and will again before I put it away. I hope that, after November, you will take your readers through a month-by-month account and analysis of events from January through the Primary and General Election.

In the hangar at Stockton on Friday [Aug. 23] there was alarm, hope, fear, and buoyant enthusiasm all mixed together. Mr. Spanos' luncheon was a great event and the president showed himself in his best colors, endorsing Simon and pushing his programs for education, welfare reform, and homeland security while urging his listeners to make America a better place to live and work. Best wishes for continued excellence in publishing.

Deke Welch
San Rafael

Arming Pilots

Regarding "Fact 2" cited in "What You Haven't Been Told About Gun Control," (*CPR*, Sept./Oct. 2002) where you wrote that "the measure allowing pilots to be armed passed both houses of Congress with wide bipartisan support": HR-4635 passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 310 to 113. The Senate version, S-2554 (Smith-Boxer), has been stuck in the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation because Committee Chairman Senator Hollings (D-SC) does not want pilots carrying firearms. Now, however, he has said he will let the bill go to the Senate floor for debate and vote. Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle could send HR-4635 to the Senate floor for a vote any time he wishes.

The Senate bill could also be added as an amendment to any one of several other bills coming up for a vote.

Most of the illogical objections to arming airline pilots have waned, but we have not yet won this one. Thank you for your support.

Captain Jim Nelson
Temecula

Capt. Nelson, a deputy sheriff, is a member of the Allied Pilots Assoc.'s Committee for Armed Defense of the Cockpit.

Mr. Paredes responds:

My "Fact 2" referred to a bill introduced and, indeed, passed by both houses early this year. That bill, as I wrote, "allowed" pilots to be armed, but Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta chose not to arm them, although Congress clearly had given him authority to do so. That's why Senator Smith introduced his bill — the S-2554 to which Capt. Nelson refers — that would remove such discretion, requiring the administration to develop a program that would arm any pilot who wants to be armed.

With regard to this current legislation, Captain Nelson is absolutely correct. We just received word that Senator Smith has been assured his language will be the first Republican amendment considered on legislation to create a new cabinet department for domestic security when the Senate returns from its August recess. Washington insiders believe the recent ouster (partly because of his vocal opposition to arming pilots) of former Clinton BATF Chief John Magaw as Undersecretary of Transportation is a first step toward formal Bush Administration endorsement of this essential security measure. Senator Smith put it this way, "An armed pilot is the airplane's first line of deterrence and last line of defense." I agree. CPR

SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Can Bill Simon still win? Yes, but by the time this column appears the die may be cast, because if there's going to be a Governor Simon, Citizen Simon must open up his wallet, and do it soon.

Bill Simon's election odyssey since his upset March primary victory has more resembled a Crosby and Hope *Road To ...* movie than a heroic Trojan war campaign. The net effect has been to emerge from the summer months trailing the unpopular Davis by double digits and giving snobbish "moderate" GOP donors a reason *not* to entrust their dollars to Simon's campaign.

The donor skepticism, fueled by Simon's punchless campaign, has left the candidate without the money in the bank to wage an effective post-Labor Day media war against Davis, recently depicted by a newspaper cartoon as a hooker strolling for campaign cash.

At this writing, Simon appeared to be about \$8 million shy of what would be required to go the distance with Davis on the airwaves. Media consultants indicate that — in this year's market — it requires about \$1.3 to \$1.5 million per week to

cover the state effectively with television ads.

With little time, and, thus, little hope of raising that kind of dough from traditional donor sources, Mr. Simon needs to step up and write a check.

If he does, there is plenty of time for another Simon come-from-behind victory. Just as he surged past Riordan in the primary, Simon could take Davis in a similar man-



ner. Californians dislike this governor with a passion. They desperately want to be able to vote for someone else, but they must believe they know *something* compelling about that someone. Otherwise, they are likely to conclude it's better to stick with the devil you know than to move to one you don't.

If Bill Simon writes that check, he'll have the resources to assure Californians they would be better off with him in the Capitol's horse-shoe, and that four more years of

Davis would be devastating. Will Bill Simon open up his wallet? That's the \$8 million question.

* * *

So there was Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante, rolling his Rs with booming voice as he led a United Farm Worker rally on the steps of the Capitol on a hot August afternoon. Many observers believe Bustamante is the most vulnerable of the Democrat incumbents and he must have a large Latino voter turnout to avoid defeat.

So it was no surprise to find Cruz firing up the UFW troops. Your *Spectator* just wonders what Dolores Huerta and the UFW would think of Cruz taking \$100 K in contributions from E&J Gallo and Sons.

According to *Associated Press*, Gallo is being accused by small Central Valley grape growers of driving prices through the floor. Gallo virtually controls the cheap, box wine market, and, according to the growers, the massive winemaker is driving them out of business.

Of course, if those same small growers go out of business it means even fewer jobs for UFW members Just another day in Sacramento when a politician's "moral" support of farm workers collides with \$100 K, and box of Chablis.

— A. P. C.

The Ninth Circuit's War Against God

In the name of 'neutrality,' activist judges evict religious expression from the public square.

M A R K S . P U L L I A M

AS A RESULT of the Ninth Circuit's idiotic ruling in the Pledge of Allegiance case, the rest of the country learned what *CPR* readers have long known: the Ninth Circuit includes some of America's most activist judges. But the real news is that *Newdow v. U.S. Congress*, the Pledge decision that sent shock waves around the world and elicited ridicule and rebukes from political leaders of both parties, was not the

most outrageous opinion issued by the Ninth Circuit on June 26, 2002. An even worse ruling, lost in the furor over *Newdow*, was handed down the same day by the Ninth Circuit sitting *en banc*, i.e., with a randomly-drawn panel of 11 judges, instead of the normal complement of three judges. (The Ninth Circuit is too large, with 24 active judges, to hear cases as a whole court, so even "*en banc*" panels reflect less than its entire member-

ship.) The irony is that both cases were attacks by atheists against religious expression in public life.

In *Newdow*, an atheist parent objected to his daughter being exposed to the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance at school, even though students are not required to recite the Pledge. In the other case, *Paulson v. City of San*

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.



Cartoon by Michael Ramirez, reprinted by permission of Copley News Service.

THE FRONT LINE

The other campaign

The Bill Simon campaign is alive and well — no, we're not, for the moment, talking about the professional operatives, the belatedly geared-up TV spots, or the media's endlessly re-spun clichés that pass for campaign "news." *That* Simon campaign is bumping along through what might charitably be called a "rough patch."

But there is another Simon campaign: one made up of real people more interested in the direction of the state than in the partisan horse-race political reporters obsess over. This Simon campaign is routinely ignored by the establishment press. Not fitting the stereotype, it simply can't be seen.

The most dramatic recent example was the Simon endorsement by 22 of 32 chapters of the Mexican American Political Association. As *CPR* contributor George Neumayr wrote August 19 on www.americanproowler.org: "As of Monday, no major California paper had reported ... the endorsement." Also missing were reports "that aides to Gray Davis tried to scuttle these chapters' endorsement of Simon by tweaking MAPA's convention rules. But that didn't work, so they unsuccessfully attempted to cancel its convention."

Media myopia is old news. The real story is of Democrats moving to the GOP — confirmed by Latino surveys showing President Bush trouncing former Vice President Gore in hypothetical match-ups (50 to 35 percent in a Latino Coalition survey that Gore won, 54 to 28, a year ago).

This other Simon campaign is also visible, to eyes that are open, in the governor's



low approval within his own Party. Few Californians applaud Davis's breathtaking ability to outdo even Pete Wilson as a crass self-promoter, resolutely placing the state's interests behind his own. Wilson, for instance, would never have thought of simply walking away from the state budget fiasco as Davis has done this year as a matter of political expediency.

The other Simon campaign can be seen in San Diego, where County GOP Chairman Ron Nehring has performed

the miracle of eliminating Republican bickering and where huge crowds of enthusiastic activists turn out for monthly County Party meetings that used to fit into phone booths.

It was visible in Stockton at the president's mid-August visit there that quickly sold out its original venue and had to be moved to a converted airplane hanger to accommodate the throng. The major media, busy mouthing the herd-ordained "arms-length," "tepid" line about Bush's visit, couldn't hear the president say "the breath of fresh air for Sacramento, California, is Bill Simon," or the applause the line generated.

The other Simon campaign was evident in the president's call to "trust local people" on education and his statement that "if you believe every child can learn, then you need to ask the question: is it working? Is every child learning? ... that's why I am such a strong supporter of accountability. And Bill joins me," or his statements that "government can hand out money, but it cannot put hope in people's hearts or a sense of purpose in people's lives" and that "when a government spends money, it's not the government's money. It's your money."

This other Simon campaign — the incumbent's real foe — is alive and well. It is the people of California. If Simon's consultants ever hook up with it, Davis is in trouble. **CPR**

Diego, an atheist objected to a cross displayed on private property on a hilltop in La Jolla. The common theme is the attempt by some atheists to purge religious symbols and expression from the public square. These atheists are not content to reject a belief in God on a personal level; they wish to impose their eccentric views on the rest of society — the overwhelming majority of whom are religious. This is an unprecedented campaign of censorship — to forbid Christians to profess publicly their belief in God.

Paulson, decided by a 7-to-4 vote, is an even greater affront to common sense, and a more serious threat to our nation's religious heritage, than the Pledge case because it represents the *en banc* judgment of the Ninth Circuit, not just the idiosyncratic views of two judges. (*Newdow* was decided by a 2-to-1 vote.) And, more ominously, *Paulson* reveals that the Ninth Circuit is controlled by the crackpot element characterized by Stephen Reinhardt (although Reinhardt did not participate in the *en banc* ruling). In other words, ultra-liberal rogue judges are not an aberration on the Ninth

Circuit; they formed the majority in two recent critical rulings.

THE *PAULSON* story begins in 1954, when the San Diego City Council permitted a private group, the Mt. Soledad Memorial Association, to erect a 43-foot high concrete cross atop Mt. Soledad as a tribute to veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. (Coincidentally, 1954, when patriotism and piety were still in fashion, was the same year Congress added the words "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance.) Mt. Soledad is a prominent landmark in San Diego's La Jolla area, near the Pacific coast, with breathtaking vistas of the surrounding country. At the top of the hill, where the cross was erected, is a 170-acre city-owned park. The hilltop is an attractive location for a monument, and the Memorial Association was not the first group to think of displaying a cross there. Less durable versions made of wood and stucco were erected in 1913 and 1934, but they were destroyed, first by vandals and then in 1952

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

It's becoming increasingly apparent that "gun control" is more than just a political idea ... it's a disorder. It's a disease that warps the mind and robs it of common sense. Like prolonged marijuana use, constant exposure to "gun control" mumbo-jumbo makes a mind increasingly witless. For example:

Earlier this year, seven 4th grade school boys from Denver were caught playing "soldiers vs. aliens" and were given detention for a week. Their crime? They were using their fingers as pretend weapons — violating the school's "zero tolerance" weapons on campus policy. Principal Darci Mickle of Dry Creek Elementary School called all of the boy's parents to have them picked up from school and informed them they were being punished for their

display of violent and aggressive behavior. One of the parents, learning that Mickle had also asked the boys if firearms were kept in their home, said, "It's none of her business"

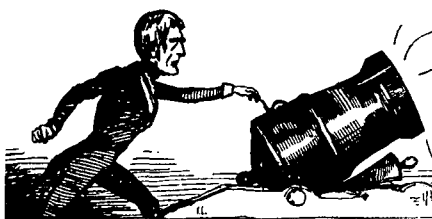
Unfortunately the sickness is not limited to the United States — here's another case: On a fine Saturday in Ashington, Northumberland, UK, three 12-year-old children were seen running around the back streets of their neighborhood. They were taking turns playing James Bond and his enemies. Fear struck two retirees who looked in horror as they saw the kids chasing each other

with toy guns. This prompted local police officers to call in for backup before confronting the kids. It took three patrol cars to surround and apprehend these dangerous criminals.

They were arrested, fingerprinted, and required to provide *DNA samples* for police records. The children's parents and a civil rights organization (called Liberty), said this was "a gross overreaction and abuse of the children's rights." A police spokesman said the girl and two boys were issued a formal reprimand, which required fingerprinting and sampling because this was considered a "recordable offense." The girl's father said, "they were only doing what kids their age have done for years." The arrest will remain on police records for three years but the fingerprints and DNA samples will be kept for life. All for playing a game.

It's a sickness, I tell you.

OPR



Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

EDITORIAL

When the Fat Lady Sings

The reliably bilious George Skelton was unusually choleric in late August, even for him, on the topic of Bill Simon. But he couldn't seem to decide which tack to take while throwing the journalistic equivalent of a septic tank at the Simon campaign.

His first rant (and to call what he does "columns" really does an injustice to serious "columnists") against Simon was titled "the worst ever," and tried to make the point that Simon is the worst major party nominee for governor in the state's history. (That title surely rests with Kathleen Brown, who turned a 15 percent lead into a 12 percent loss in a few scant months). Skelton's screed was basically a 500-word "neener, neener, neener — you're going to lose" taunt. It was worthy of a junior high school playground, but not a major newspaper, which, presumably, the *L.A. Times* still considers itself.

Skelton must have worn out his Thesaurus writing this piece, which was little more than a series of pejoratives linked together with journalistic eye-rolling at how awful Simon is as a candidate. Even allowing that Skelton is a shameless pimp for Gray Davis, this column was an embarrassment. Perhaps Skelton hoped his effort would singe Simon partisans. A quick survey in-

dictated that the general reaction was one of wondering how long it will be before the *Times's* version of Dr. Kevorkian visits Skelton's office. His writing is already buried deep inside the second section. Juvenile offerings like this indicate that total disappearance may not be far off.

But Skelton wasn't done waving his pompoms for Davis or yelling "go team, go" for his campaign. In the last week of August the non-partisan and well re-



spected Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) released its latest survey, showing Davis 11 points ahead of Simon (41 to 30 percent).

While reaction and "spin" on the survey varied a bit with different newspapers and columnists, virtually all of them caught its major news: that after a horrible four to six weeks, buffeted by terrible headlines and millions of dollars of unanswered Davis attack ads, Simon trailed the governor by an eminently bridgeable *eleven* points.

There is much else in the survey worthy of comment, but the narrowness of the governor's margin was clearly its eye-popping finding — at least for those with a scintilla of professionalism. Skelton, in a strange turn for the author of a piece that labeled Simon, not 10 days earlier, as irredeemably spoiled goods, spent another 500 words turning the survey on its head, pointing out what good news this was for Davis.

Let's review the facts here. Bill Simon has had a horrendous six week run of negative news coverage, perhaps the worst six week concentration of bad press in the last 40 years (the limit of personal memory about campaigns for anyone at *CPR*). Governor Davis has spent \$25 million — and has actually *lost* ground since the first of the year. Having spent more than \$15 million attacking Simon and portraying himself as the lesser of two evils, he garners 41 percent support. Simon, spending virtually nothing against this \$25 million barrage, remains within 11 points of Davis.

That is one helluva story, pounced on by virtually every newspaper and political columnist covering state politics — except the *L.A. Times* and their official Davis sycophant. As most everyone except, evidently, George Skelton, can see, this election will be decided, like the baseball championship, in October.

CPR

by a severe wind storm. The concrete cross went unmo-
lested for 35 years. But the legal system may succeed
where natural forces and vandalism have failed.

In 1989, an atheist named Philip Paulson filed a
lawsuit in federal court, contending that displaying a
cross on publicly-owned property is an unconstitution-
al establishment of religion. Paulson demanded that
the cross be removed. Paulson's lawsuit alleged that, as
an atheist, he was "deeply offended" by the cross and
would like to enjoy the spectacular views of San Diego
from the park on Mt. Soledad but avoids doing so be-
cause of the cross's dominance of the hilltop. Instead of
applying the U.S. Constitution, the interpretation of
which is reviewable by the U.S. Supreme Court, in
1991 the federal District Court in San Diego held that
the cross violated the *California* Constitution. Accord-
ingly, the trial court permanently enjoined the presence
of the cross on publicly-owned land.

WHETHER THE unusual reliance on "inde-
pendent state grounds" in a federal
lawsuit was calculated or fortuitous on
the part of the District Court, it put
the litigation in appellate limbo. The Court's interpre-
tation of Article I, section 4 of the California Constitu-
tion (which guarantees the "[f]ree exercise of religion
without discrimination or preference") was not subject
to review by the California Supreme Court because
Paulson's lawsuit was filed in federal court, and the
U.S. Supreme Court will not review a decision unless
there is a federal law issue. So the only appeal of the
District Court's decision was to the Ninth Circuit.

The Ninth Circuit predictably rubber-stamped the
District Court. With no further legal options, the city
of San Diego had only two choices: either bulldoze the
cross or sell the land to remove the "taint" of public
ownership. The city chose the latter, a decision voters
supported overwhelmingly when it was put before
them in the form of a ballot measure that passed with
76 percent yes votes. Of course, the atheists' objective
all along was to remove the cross, so they were not ap-
peased by the city's decision to sell the land. Anticipat-
ing legal challenges to the sale, the city adopted an
"arm's length" procedure that ensured a fair outcome.
The half acre on which the cross stands would be sold
to the highest bidder, and competitive bids were solicit-
ed. Buyers were not required to retain the cross, al-
though they would acquire full title to the land and the
cross. The only requirement was that the property be
used as an historic war memorial. An atheist group was
free to purchase the land and destroy the cross. Con-
versely, a buyer was free to preserve the cross. In either
case the buyer would be responsible for the future

Over the Edge

Two judges have gone out on a ledge
By banning the Allegiance pledge.

"Under God" they say

Must be done with away.

They've really gone over the edge.

Now the church should never excuse

Those priests who young boys abuse.

It should rock 'em, sock 'em

Quickly defrock 'em,

And throw them clear out of their pews

Vouchers for Catholic Schools

Are merely good teaching tools

It's a matter of teaching

And not one of preaching,

Or so the Supreme Court rules

— by Joy Skilmer*

maintenance and operation of the property. As it turns
out, the Memorial Association was the highest bidder.
It outbid the National League for the Separation of
Church and State (and several other groups) by offer-
ing \$106,000 for the parcel.

But the story did not end there. Paulson, represent-
ed by the American Civil Liberties Union, challenged
the sale as "rigged." The amount of land sold, he
argued, was too small to cure the appearance of a pub-
lic preference for a "sectarian purpose," i.e., the cross.
The District Court, hardly unsympathetic to Paulson's
position, having ruled in his favor to begin with in
1991, rejected Paulson's latest challenge, concluding
that the sale was fair and neutral. Paulson appealed to
the Ninth Circuit, and on August 22, 2001, a three-
judge panel unanimously upheld the ruling. The
ACLU's *jihad* against the Mt. Soledad cross seemed, fi-
nally, to be over. Not quite yet. Paulson sought *en banc*
review, a rarely-invoked procedure for internally cor-

* The political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, is available
from MND Publishing, 573 Marina Rd., Deatsville, AL
36022. Keep up with Lyn's "musings" at: www.lynnofziger.com

recting erroneous decisions by the court of appeal. His persistence paid off.

THE NINTH CIRCUIT granted *en banc* review, and the case was re-argued March 21, 2002. On June 26, the District Court and the three-judge panel were overturned, the Ninth Circuit ruling that the sale was rigged, and that the cross is still unconstitutional. Employing a fantastic line of reasoning, the judges concluded that the sale of the land to the highest bidder, without any requirement that the owner preserve the cross, necessarily favored a sectarian purpose (maintaining the cross) because “the structure of the sale provided a financial incentive to maintain the cross.” This is a lie, cloaked in convoluted legal reasoning. See if you can follow: Since the sale would convey ownership to the successful bidder of the cross and the half acre parcel on which it stands, bidders wishing to keep the cross had an advantage over those wishing to remove it, because the bidders wishing to bulldoze the cross “would be saddled with the costs of removing the cross and of constructing an alternative memorial.” In other words, the atheist group, which failed to submit the highest bid for purchasing the land, was at an unfair disadvantage because, had it won, it would be responsible for the cost of demolishing the cross. Groups intending to keep the cross could devote their full resources to acquisition of the land, without any reserve for demolition expenses. In the view of the seven judge majority, “the City gave a direct, immediate, and substantial economic incentive to advance a sectarian message,” and thus violated the California Constitution. The same appellate limbo makes the Ninth Circuit’s decision final for all practical purposes.

This shoddy “reasoning,” rather than leveling the playing field, tips it in favor of the atheists, since removal of the cross will inevitably cost more than maintaining the status quo. After a decade of litigation and a protracted sale process, the parties had reached a resolution that should have been acceptable to all concerned. The atheists’ objection to government sponsorship of a religious symbol (assuming, *arguendo*, that the cross is a religious symbol) was cured by the sale of the cross and the appurtenant land to a private group. In hindsight, however, we see the atheists’ real objection was not to government sponsorship, but to the cross itself. And the Ninth Circuit contrived to overcome the city’s divestiture of the land to ensure outright victory for the atheists. Without the possibility of a bona fide sale to eliminate Paulson’s objection to the cross, the city may have to bulldoze it. Which presumably was the Ninth Circuit’s goal in overturning the sale. (It pains me to point out that Judge Alex Kozinski, whom I admire and who normally exhibits commitment to the rule of law, joined this *en banc* travesty. It is true that even Homer nodded, but this is more like Rip Van Winkle’s protracted slumber.)

The city of San Diego has not given up. On July 31, City Attorney Casey Gwinn petitioned the Ninth Circuit to reconsider its decision, and to grant review by the entire 24-judge court, an action that has never previously been taken. Gwinn emphasized the worst aspect of the Ninth Circuit’s ruling: the city had no chance to file briefs on the “unfair sale” issue because it was never raised by Paulson. The Ninth Circuit, you see, cooked up this theory on its own. With activist appellate courts like the Ninth Circuit making the litigants’ legal arguments, who needs the ACLU? CPR

THOSE IN POWER OVER US

One-man, One-vote, One-time

Voters passed 1998’s Prop 10, creating 59 commissions that are unelected, unaccountable, and largely unknown, with control over hundreds of millions of tax dollars.

M . D A V I D S T I R L I N G

C^alifornia Political Review’s initial labeling of my regular column, “Those in Power Over Us,” reflected our joint expectation that the usual focus of my piece would be elected and non-elected officials within the halls of

government, especially the unaccountable bureaucrats within government’s administrative “fourth branch,” who regulate our lives, or businesses, our property, and our wallets. That has held true for each of my previous columns. In this election issue of *CPR*, how-



ever, my focus is not on a government official or agency of bureaucrats. Here, “those in power over us” are the voters of California. Indeed, they are us. This is a story about an initiative measure — Proposition 10 on the November 1998 ballot, a measure unlike any that had appeared previously in California’s 90-year experience with direct law-making by the people.

The American experiment with representative democracy is best characterized by one underlying idea: accountability. This idea both defines and constrains basic democratic concepts such as freedom, justice, and equality. Accountability is the bedrock of American constitutional government. It is reflected in such uniquely American principles as that elected leaders represent their constituents in the seat of government, the checks and balances of three separate, equal branches of government, the principle of federalism, which defines and limits the role and powers of the federal government in relation to the states, and the Bill of Rights, which declares and protects the rights of the individual from the power of the government. Ultimately, in what is meant by the expression, “no one is above the law,” each individual is accountable,

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including presidents, members of Congress, and corporate executives.

Accountability is also built into California’s constitutional government. Article III, Section 3 provides: “The powers of state government are legislative, executive, and judicial.” The primary purpose of this language is to assure that the duties and powers of the agencies of state government fall within the supervisory jurisdiction of either the governor, the Legislature, or the judiciary. It is by this means that officials and entities of the state are held accountable for their public activities.

Rob Reiner played the role of Archie Bunker’s politically correct “meat-head” son-in-law on the popular ’70s television show, “All in the Family.” In 1998, no longer the actor but still politically-correct, the well-known Hollywood movie director authored and qualified for the November election ballot an initiative measure he named “The California Children and Families First Act.” Proposition 10, as it was designated on the ballot, contained “Findings and Declarations,” including: “How children function from the preschool years all the way through adolescence, and even into adulthood, hinges in large part on their experiences before the age of three The well-being of California’s infants and children is endangered ... by exposure to tobacco, drugs, and alcohol Smoking is the leading preventable cause of death and disease in California.” Drawn by the political correctness of promoting the well-being of children, while penalizing the use of tobacco, a bare majority of California voters passed the measure (50.6 percent), despite the \$40 million opposition campaign waged by the tobacco industry.

PROPOSITION 10 created 59 separate commissions, one at the state level and one in each county. It tasked these commissions with the vague and open-ended purpose of “promoting, supporting, and improving the early development of children from the prenatal stage to five years of age” by “facilitat(ing) the creation and implementation of an integrated, comprehensive, and collaborative system of information and services to enhance optimal early childhood development.”

Proposition 10 further established a permanent funding mechanism for these 59 early child development commissions by imposing a \$0.50 surtax per pack of cigarettes and other tobacco products. In each year since it became law — 1999, 2000, and 2001 — this surtax has generated nearly \$700 million in reve-

nues. To date, some \$2.5 billion has been received from the Proposition 10 tobacco surtax.

But these huge amounts of public monies do not go into the state's General Fund. To the contrary, Proposition 10 funnels 20 percent (to date, approximately \$500 million) directly to the politically-appointed members of the California Children and Families First Commission for expenditure on such activities as research, mass media, education, and child care activities. The other 80 percent (to date, about \$2 billion) is distributed directly to the politically-appointed members of the 58 county commissions, based on each county's annual birthrate. And although Proposition 10 vaguely describes the purposes for which the state and county commissions may spend these monies, it places no obligation on them actually to spend the funds for those purposes.

In reality, the state and county commissions created by Proposition 10 are autonomous, free-floating, unaccountable creatures, operating outside the state constitution's normal checks and balances as required of government agencies receiving state funds. Unlike any other law enacted by the Legislature or through initiative, Proposition 10's 59 new commissions have been given authority to spend nearly \$700 million in state tax revenues annually, with no meaningful management or control by the governor or any agency within the executive branch. Nor are these sizeable tax revenues subject to the scrutiny of the Legislature through the state's annual budget process (or the counties' annual budget processes.) The commissions' members are not elected by the public, are mostly unknown to the public, and, what is more, they are not answerable to any government official elected by the public.

In essence, "those in power over us" — and again, when it comes to elections, that is *us* — have provided the liberal Reiner, and his friends at the state and local levels, with an annual \$700 million "slush fund," paid for by the disfavored users of a politically-incorrect product, to be spent by politically-selected commissions on any "pet project" (operated by their politically-supportive vendors) that remotely relates to the well-being of children. One need not be personally acquainted with the caprice of local politics to recognize how the unrestrained spending of an automatic, yearly infusion of several hundred million dollars is conducive to abuse.

DESPITE THIS and other constitutional deficiencies, Proposition 10 has withstood challenge in superior court. Currently, a ruling upholding Proposition 10 is pending in the state court of appeals, where, one must hope, the justices will recognize the dangers an unaccountable, powerful, and mostly invisible new branch of government poses to the republic.

If Proposition 10 is not declared unconstitutional, a devastating precedent will have been established: namely, that any (not otherwise unlawful) private cause that evokes sufficient voter approval at the ballot box may generate and spend enormous amounts of government-collected tax revenues without any of the traditional notions of public accountability practiced in this country since the founding.

Proposition 10 presents a eye-opening lesson in the importance of an educated electorate. It also once again demonstrates that "those in power over us" — especially if they are *us* — must be held accountable. CPR

THE WORKING PRESS

The *Times* drops an 'intemperate' reporter

*The popularity of Fox News and such bestsellers as
Bernard Goldberg's Bias may actually be having an effect.*

G E O R G E N E U M A Y R

In July, sports writer Brian Robin sent an intemperate note to Republican Congressman Bill Thomas on the *Los Angeles Times's* e-mail system.

"Surely, you can't be that stupid," the *Los Angeles*

Times reporter began his note. "I mean, even for the standards of the current Republican Party, which has turned from the Party of Lincoln and Theodore

George Neumayr is California Political Review's press critic.

Roosevelt into a hateful, dogmatic, and uncompromising group (except in the case of big business, when you become the Party of Stepin' Fetchit), your comments on CNN are so completely out of line, they defy logic. To blame Bill Clinton (our last legally-elected president) for the current corporate shenanigans completely flies in the face of truth and logic. The president you and your ilk impeached for lying about oral sex presided over a country that lowered teen pregnancy rates 22 percent, dropped the crime rate by roughly the same amount, and knocked nearly half the welfare recipients off the rolls. While those numbers were dropping, so were the numbers in divorce, teen drinking, teen suicide, and abortion."

Robin continued: "But that doesn't jibe with your partisan rantings. Everything's Clinton's fault, from your faulty perceptions about this country's moral laxity to the state of the military — which was cut to pieces by George Bush I and his secretary of defense — Dick Cheney. Without a scintilla of regret or moral thought, your Party has embraced corporate crooks, polluters and other moral rot. It wasn't Bill Clinton who cooked books at Enron, Global Crossing, Worldcom, and who knows how many other companies. It wasn't Bill Clinton who engaged in accounting fraud while working as the CEO of a Fortune 500 company (see Cheney, Dick). It wasn't Bill Clinton who engaged in insider trading while leading yet another company into bankruptcy (see Bush, G.W.). It was Bill Clinton who lied about a blow job. Somehow, I don't see the comparison. Then again, I'm not a morally bankrupt Republican congressman who opts for partisanship ahead of truth."

After the office of Congressman Thomas notified the *Los Angeles Times* about its sportswriter's political musings, the paper fired Robin.

How times have changed. Mainstream papers appear increasingly sensitive to charges of liberal bias, thanks to the popularity of Fox News and the bestseller status of books such as Bernard Goldberg's *Bias*

and Ann Coulter's *Slander*.

The *Times*'s management must have figured that Robin, as a relatively expendable employee (he worked for the paper's community edition in Ontario), wasn't worth defending in the current climate of criticism toward the liberal media.

But what if he had pulled this stunt a few years ago?

Would the *Times* have pinkslipped him? It is doubtful. It might even have accelerated his ascension to the editorial page.

With friends like these ... In August, Debra Saunders, the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s idea of a conservative columnist, declared that "Bill Simon should just give up." The

column described Simon as a "lousy candidate," "Greedy/Stupid," and a "venal Republican."

Saunders glibly suggested that Bill Jones run in Simon's place, since he "can do two things Simon can't: He can answer complex policy questions in a way that lets voters know he understands the issues. And he would have no problem convincing voters that he's more trustworthy than Gray Davis."

This is what's called ideological "balance" at the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Gray Davis's \$24 billion deficit generated far less media outrage over the summer than the contested \$78 million fraud verdict involving Bill Simon's firm. The jury's verdict sparked a steady stream of Simon-can't-win-now stories. Glee at the chance to place Simon in the company of corporate scoundrels, reporters chewed over the case for weeks. But few of them bothered to report the facts in the case thoroughly. Had they done so, Californians might conclude that the fraud in the case is the former drug lord who brought it.



Plaintiff Paul Hindelang never disclosed to the Simon firm his criminal trafficking in drugs — a key piece of information which would have killed the Simon firm's investment interest in his pay phone company, Pacific Coin. Yet Hindelang claims the Simons defrauded him!

Hindelang is hardly an innocent wronged by heartless businessmen. He, for example, says that he opposed the Simon firm's plans to acquire Golden Tel, Nevada's largest independent pay phone company. What most journalists didn't report is that Hindelang had tried to buy Golden-Tel himself before joining up with Simon & Sons.

Hindelang also said that Simon & Sons' acquisition of Golden Tel at \$41 million was inappropriate and fraudulent. But he signed a letter of intent in January 1999 agreeing to that price.

If he had really thought the deal fraudulent, Hindelang could have used his 23 percent ownership to stop it. He didn't.

Is it any wonder Judge Chalfant agreed with William E. Simon & Sons and the other defendants before trial that Hindelang's allegations appeared to be baseless?



California reporters appear to view Bill Simon's personal wealth as a character flaw.

They demanded that Simon show them his tax returns. He reluctantly consented, providing them to reporters during an afternoon session at a Los Angeles hotel. *The Los Angeles Times* complained that an "independent unraveling of the candidate's convoluted finances was virtually impossible." Other reporters pouted to Simon that he wasn't letting them take his returns to "tax experts." Simon replied, "You've got plenty of time to take a look at it" and suggested they "take notes."

The *Los Angeles Times* thought it fair to run a picture accompanying its story about his tax returns of a protester with a box on his head reading, "Simon is a tax cheat."

The more you pay in taxes, it appears, the less respect you get from the media. Simon has handed over at least \$11 million to the state and federal government in the last 11 years, dwarfing Davis's tax payments by millions.

No matter: the media continued to fret more about Simon's private finances than Davis's public mismanagement. Davis's \$24 billion deficit is not as disqualifying to them as whether or not a candidate might have used a legal tax shelter.



The first time President Bush visited California to raise money for Bill Simon the *Los Angeles Times* paid scant attention. But the *Times* paid plenty of attention to his second fundraising visit — only to turn it into yet another anti-Simon story.

The headline for its story deserved points for novelty and oxymoronic reach. It read, "Tepid Boost for Simon: Bush, in California, endorses the beleaguered candidate, but out of the public eye." Not so out of the public eye, however, that the *Times* couldn't get a picture of a smiling Bush shaking Simon's hand at a fundraising lunch in Stockton to accompany its story.

Most every newspaper gave Bush's endorsement of Simon an anti-Simon spin: "Bush to campaign for Simon — privately"; "Bush stumps for Simon, but from a safe distance"; "Bush muted in support of Simon"; "Bush hails Simon from a safe distance"; "President doesn't mention Simon"; "Bush gives limited support to candidate in California."

Perhaps the only remotely favorable headline for Simon came from the *Washington Post*. In a burst of generosity, the *Post* headlined its story: "GOP's candidate's legal woes do not deter the President."

Reporters read the entrails of Bush's visit very carefully. One reporter thought Bush's handshake of Simon on an airport tarmac "perfunctory." Another reporter thought Simon smiled more widely than Bush. Reporters, usually not very eager to pat Bush on the head, suddenly felt vast sympathy for Bush's "awkward" predicament.

Naturally, the Dems had their talking points for the fundraising tour, the chief one being that Bush was in a position akin to a family member visiting a relative in jail.

The *Sacramento Bee*: "It's like visiting your cousin in prison," Davis spokesman Gabriel Sanchez said of the president's visit on Simon's behalf. "You have to do it, but you don't look forward to it." The *Oakland Tribune*: "California Democratic Party spokesman Bob Mulholland likened the president's visit to an uncle visiting a nephew in jail. 'It's family responsibility, but you get out of town quickly,' Mulholland said."

What faithful stenographers of the Democratic Party reporters are.

At least Simon could joke about the herd media's mistreatment of him. "If keeping me at arm's length," Simon said to Bush, "really means flying several thousand miles out here to campaign for us over two days, and now you've done five events with us, could you please keep me at arm's length for the balance of the campaign?"

CPR

New Rules for Fraud Same-Day-Voting

Shawn Steel



What would the Southwest Air clerk do if you showed your electrical bill for I.D. and then demanded a seat? Security would be called and you would be detained until you furnished proper I.D. You need a valid driver's license to cash a check at Safeway, but supporters of this November's Proposition 52 believe a preprinted bank deposit slip is sufficient to prevent fraud at the ballot box. That's right, this "reform" would allow Californians to register on election day and vote after showing "proof" of identity by using one of a laundry list of various items considered sufficient proof of residence. They also could register by going to their county registrar's office during the 28 days before an election. Same-day registration and voting with lax rules encourages fraud.

The initiative's proclaimed intent is to increase voter turnout. This seemingly innocuous measure appeals to our desire to maximize participation in our representative system of government. After all, it's easy to imagine something like an untimely relocation causing a person to fall through the cracks and be ineligible to vote.

But closer examination of the initiative makes it plain the measure would make it easier to *commit* voter fraud and harder to investigate it and that an already complicated voting system would become even more complex and unwieldy.

Consider, for example, what will be considered valid identification if this measure passes: utility bills, credit card bills, bank statements, preprinted checks or bank deposit slips, a vehicle registration, and "mail addressed to the voter at his or her current residence address." About the only thing missing is a note from your mother.

Initiative proponents contend it would actually reduce voter fraud because, currently, Californians must meet no ID requirement to register and vote. A far more likely result would be organized voter fraud by unscrupulous campaigns exploiting these permissive registration provisions. What, for instance, is a polling worker to do when a group of "voters" suddenly show up with utility bills and demand to vote? To avoid a lawsuit [civil rights violation?] the worker would certainly provide the ballots. After the votes are cast there is no

way to "double" check for fraud. All ballots are mixed together — no more provisional ballots to review later. Riverside County Registrar Mischelle Townsend says it would be extremely difficult to prevent fraud under such provisions. Now, if there's any question about your eligibility, you can cast a "provisional" ballot, which is set aside and counted last, after its validity has been ascertained. The same-day-voting initiative would abolish provisional ballots, thereby eliminating the main avenue for investigating voter fraud even as it multiplies opportunities to commit such fraud.

If this initiative passes, you can count on vanloads of warm bodies armed with utility bills rolling up to polling locations in closely contested legislative and congressional districts: contests in which a little fraud can go a long way toward deciding the race's outcome. The initiative also requires county registrars to station a worker outside polling places. This would mean recruitment, training, and pay for thousands of additional workers, an expensive, time-consuming order for officials already hard-pressed to scratch up enough workers to discharge their current responsibilities. Small wonder the registrars of some of the state's largest counties think the same-day-voting initiative is a bad idea.

The measure's promise to increase voter turnout is also spurious. Supporters say California voter turnout in November 2000 hit its lowest level since 1964, when our voting laws were certainly less flexible. Since then, we have enacted very liberal absentee voting laws and the "motor voter" program and have shortened the registration blackout period to just 14 days before an election. You can even download voter registration forms from the Internet.

Voting has been made successively easier the last two decades, yet turnout continues to decline. By what magic would this flawed initiative reverse this trend? Clearly the cure to voter apathy lies elsewhere. The right to vote is precious, but same-day-voting would undermine it by encouraging fraud and placing burdensome new mandates on already overwhelmed, underfunded county election officials. The best way to increase turnout is to give voters candidates they can believe in and elected officials who respond to the will of the people — rather than to powerful special interests. CPR

Shawn Steel is the chairman of the California Republican Party, elected July 9, 2001.

NOTEBOOK

Offending the Herd

by John Kurzweil

"If you thought as much about being honest as you do about being smart"

— Jefferson Smith

"Honest? Why we're the only ones who can afford to be honest in what we tell the voters. We don't have to be re-elected like politicians."

— Diz Moore, poet of Washington correspondents

— *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*

Bill Simon is not playing the game, and the political press corps is not at all happy about it. First, he wouldn't cooperate on the social issues. He said he was pro-life, but didn't stammer and quake like Dan Lungren about it. Neither would he make impassioned speeches on the subject. Mainly, he ignored the issue and talked about what *he* wanted to talk about.

Unhelpful Answers

And even then, his answers to reporters' questions rarely conformed to the quick "sound-bite" format so helpful to those engaged in the daily farce of "reporting" on complex, often highly (and tediously) technical policy issues: *i.e.*, transforming them into digestible, bite-sized "stories" with tidy beginnings, middles, and ends. For instance, David Roberti, just to grab a name

out of the past, could always be counted on during the annual budget battle, to blurt out something about "fat cats" wanting to "squeeze the poor," which, by Jimminy, old David just wouldn't stand for. But ask Bill Simon about the budget, and he says things like: "... the problem is that we allowed spending to in-



crease on the hope the revenue base would not decline. It's a little like being in a business where income varies year to year. You have a great year, and so you go ahead and buy a big house you can afford on your income that year. But, knowing your income wouldn't be the same every year, that would be foolish. That's what Governor Davis did, in effect."

How's anybody going to make

that interesting? An exasperated George Skelton, in one of his recent eruptions, declared Simon even a worse candidate than Lungren for this very reason, explaining that "Lungren ... could be bellicose, but — unlike Simon — he was never boring. Never bland. He was too right-wing, but voters got the sense Lungren was speaking from heartfelt conviction. Simon hasn't conveyed a sense of conviction or passion about anything."

So beautifully tanned

This recalls a Raquel Welch answer when she was asked what she liked about some man she was seeing. "Oh," she purred, "he's always so beautifully tanned" — expressing exactly the level of seriousness, the depth of appreciation for life's subtleties and richness, that newsmen like George Skelton bring to the weighty business of political reporting and commentary.

But all this was nothing to Simon's absolutely over-the-top performance about his income taxes. He started out all right, refusing to make his returns public. That could be spun into any number of handy pigeon-hole stories: candidate won't come clean; rich businessman probably paying little or nothing; what could he be hiding? — must be really awful if he is willing to jeopardize his campaign to keep it covered up, and so on. But then, instead of standing pat so these stories could be properly

beaten to death, or folding completely and releasing every detail from the beginning of time to date so that days, weeks, months could be employed uncovering new "stories" about the most intimate details of the rich guy's and his family's financial history and situation — instead of doing any of that, he tried to show that he had paid a fair share of taxes, while keeping the details private. He displayed returns dating back several years for a few hours in a hotel room for reporters to examine but not to take away or copy.

The Last Straw

This was the last straw. Simon was actually trying to maintain some control not only over his own life and personal affairs but over an already mildly hot and potentially much hotter "story." Anyone who has watched even one press corps "feeding frenzy," in former President Bush's perfect description of the phenomenon, knows that the culture of political reporting is one of boring lulls set off by fits of nearly sub-human hysteria during which every shred of civility, intelligence, forbearance, and restraint is trampled in a mob attack on some dumb-founded, defenseless, deer-in-the-headlights Dan Quayle-type. A victim who remains calm and even tries to maintain some order in such a situation simply isn't playing ball.

"Consider Simon's refusal to release his tax returns," wrote *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Debra Saunders, explaining why Simon was such "a lousy candidate" who "should just give up" — "followed by his nonrelease-release of his returns. People ask me, as if it were a mystery, why Candidate Simon didn't automatically release

information that any semi-conscious gubernatorial candidate would release. The answer: Apparently he has something to hide." The unpardonable sin! Failing to perform as expected!

Grizzled old Diz Moore, self-described "poet of Washington correspondents" in *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, was the romantic figure of a fearless, truth-telling journalist Hollywood used to portray that may have had some basis in reality long ago, but seems pure fantasy now. Political journalists are in love with power, not truth: they are power voyeurs, in Malcolm Muggeridge's description. Power, as an end in itself, by definition recognizes no moral imperative except conformity to the group or, in this case, the herd. Simon won't conform, so he's "lousy," the "worst" — by God, even Dan Lungren at least was never boring! (He also, obligingly, fit the stereotypes, so you could call him "too right wing" when time came to dispose of him. His main virtue, though, was that, boiling it all down, he wanted to be governor so he could run for president more than just about anything. Lungren's desire for power, like Pete Wilson's, and even Gray Davis's, is something power voyeurs feel they can understand. A candidate like Bill Simon who seems to think something might be real *besides* power just won't compute.)



So the most enlightening angle in this election campaign — the stark contrast between citizen politician Bill and altogether careerist pol Gray — remains virtually unexplored in the "mainstream" press. Simon is making a lot of "mistakes" — exactly the kind of mistakes to be expected, given a little thought, from a political neophyte.

A Citizen Pol

Why that should be so much more surprising than that Davis should trade political favors for cash to advance his political ambition is not clear. But finding a neophyte acting like a neophyte so upsets the press, they forget to ask whether there might be any *advantage* to a governor who doesn't need the job, and, what's more, won't be tempted to dive off the Golden Gate Bridge if he doesn't get it. Perhaps such a governor — although, to be sure, likely to prove inefficient at times, even embarrassingly so — could bring a detachment from self to his office that would permit actual consideration of the peoples' interests.

Reporters would find that "boring," at least until they dreamed up some new pigeon-hole story ideas to over-use in covering him. But the state might also find it possible to thrive without going bankrupt; without failing, at the cost of billions of dollars, to teach even as well as any average home schooling mom using only a few books, common sense, and love; might find that the ten billion impossible "problems" justifying nearly that many public "servants" existence actually are not quite impossible after all. Californians might benefit from a few stories about such possibilities. CPR



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law enforcement, welcomes the
California Republican Party's
September Convention.**

The Governor's Race

**Can
inexperience
survive a
neophyte's
mistakes?**

2002

**Can
hard-edged
careerism
survive a
coin-operated
image?**

Arnold Steinberg

*A look at parallels from the past.
Aspects that make this year one-of-a-kind.*

I don't really remember the governor's race in 1958. But it was the year that Governor Goodwin Knight and U.S. Senator Bill Knowland played musical chairs. Knight decided to run for U.S. Senate. And Knowland decided to run for governor. It smacked of a political deal and didn't sell well to voters. That same year, there was right-to-work, a ballot

measure that energized organized labor. Overall, the result was a disaster for Republicans. Attorney General Edmund G. "Pat" Brown became governor.

Before Knight, the governor (for three terms) was Earl Warren. All this was during the time when California was in Republican hands. For Democrats, 1958 was a watershed year. Indeed, two years later, the Party held its national convention here,

right in Los Angeles, in Richard Nixon's political backyard. In November, John F. Kennedy barely edged out Nixon. Rather than bide his time for 1964, Nixon decided to return to his home state and run for governor. A political mistake, since many Californians figured he had little interest in governing the Golden State.

What I remember about 1962 is Richard Nixon being a bad loser. He



Arnold Steinberg is a political strategist.

defeated the conservative Joe Shell in the Republican Primary. In turn, Nixon was defeated by Brown. "You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore," Nixon said in a famous news conference. Everyone thought his political career had ended. Two years later, he shrewdly campaigned for the Party's presidential nominee, Barry Goldwater. Then, in 1966, in a strategy copied by others years later (and probably Al Gore this year), Nixon campaigned hard for his Party's Congressional nominees. In 1968, Nixon ran successfully for president.

Between graduating high school and starting UCLA, I became active in the campaign of a novice candidate for public office. His name was Ronald Reagan. Together with my friends, we formed Youth for Reagan. From the outset, I was convinced that Reagan would win.

People compare 1966 to 2002. It's true that pundits expected Reagan to lose to moderate San Francisco Mayor George Christopher. And they expected Bill Simon to lose to Richard Riordan, who had just completed eight years as Los Angeles mayor. But Reagan already had near-total identification, and Simon had none. And Reagan could set the world on fire.

What Simon did in the March Primary was to manage a tremendous come-from-behind victory. Yet, it was essential that he grasp the meaning of his win. It was, at least partly, a repudiation of the Richard Riordan campaign. Only Simon himself could make it an affirmation of Simon, if he could quickly and decisively define the general election.

And while he lost some opportunities in the months following the Primary, and over the summer, Republicans remain hopeful that Simon

will set the agenda for the fall. But he has his work cut out for him. Davis started on the air with television commercials after the Primary, and, after a hiatus, he resumed in late July. The Davis campaign claims Davis will *never* be off the air.

That makes it imperative for Simon to use free or "earned" media to make a strong case for himself and his ideas. He cannot match Davis dollar-for-dollar, so he must have a superior press operation.

Early on, the White House targeted Simon for special attention. No sooner had Simon won, than the president's men were reaching out to support the Republican nominee. President George W. Bush had several fundraisers for Simon, and Laura Bush visited the state. Probably no Republican candidate this year received more fundraising help than Simon.

It's a challenge, in part because Republicans hold neither U.S. Senate seat and only one statewide office, secretary of state. The Party does not have a majority in either state legislative house. So, the Republican standard bearer for governor must motivate the Party faithful. In many ways, he sets the tone for 2002.

Back in the Reagan days in 1966, the California Republican Party was a model for the nation. Now, it barely resembles its old dynamic self. Successive defeats have taken their toll.

But nearly 30 years ago, and despite the disasters of 1958 and 1962, the Party was a pretty solid machine. In fact, even the Los Angeles County Republican Party had a bigger budget and more staff than nearly any state Republican organization. Those were the days when busloads of Republican volunteers would come from everywhere into a district for a special legislative election.

Reagan not only won big in 1966, but he won reelection in 1970 against "Big Daddy" Jess Unruh, the Democrat Speaker of the Assembly. It was Unruh who coined the phrase, "Money is the mother's milk of politics." Unruh was so desperate for press attention that he held a news conference in the driveway of the Bel Air home of Henry Salvatori.

I remember Henry Salvatori well. He was an early supporter of intellectual and political activities of young people. I was active in the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, then the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. Henry helped us, also, in Young Americans for Freedom. To many, he was Ronald Reagan's godfather. Along with auto tycoon Holmes Tuttle, and aviation pioneer C.C. Moseley, and others,



Salvatori put up the seed money in 1965 to launch Reagan's exploratory committee.

By 1970, Unruh was hoping to make an issue of "undue influence" of oil man Salvatori. The only problem is that Salvatori never really wanted much for himself. His interest was in good government and sound public policy. The press saw Unruh's ploy as a desperate act for a sagging campaign.

Reagan's re-election was not accompanied by a sufficient consolidation of the Republican base. In many ways, Reagan's appeal was personal. He was surrounded by pragmatists without any long-range interest in the Republican

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Party. At best, they tried to elect more legislators, but Republican control of the state Legislature remained elusive. The dynamic Reagan years hid a (slowly) declining GOP.

This was already apparent in 1974, when the Party nominated an uncharismatic moderate named Houston Fluornoy. A nice and sincere man, he could not excite the Party base, and certainly not Democrats. He lost to the spirited Jerry Brown, the enigmatic bachelor son of Pat Brown. Jerry had started his political career on the Los Angeles Community College Board of Trustees. Like many Democrats, and more than Republicans, he understood how you could use a lower, nonpartisan office as a springboard to higher, even statewide office.

As is the case in many losing Republican campaigns, the Fluornoy campaign was not underfunded. The candidate had the usual coterie of Republican frat boys with walkie-talkies and the high-powered scheduling and advance operations that one associated with a smooth running campaign.

But there was no excitement. To some, the thoughtful Fluornoy was a nerd before his time. And he was personally no match for the flair Brown displayed. Brown had the enthusiasm of out-of-power Democrats. Finally, in fairness to Fluornoy, he ran in a bad year. It was right after Watergate.

Jerry Brown did a miserable job. But I won't re-run the governor's race against him. During his first term, Brown repudiated his father's growth policies. In many ways, his administration was a caricature. His counter-cultural advisers

were in charge of building freeways. The man responsible for what order existed was his chief of staff, a stuffed-shirt named Gray Davis. More on him later.



But remember, in that June 1978 Primary, a fellow named Howard Jarvis was trying again for a property tax measure. The iconoclastic Jarvis had become the Harold Stassen of ballot measures. Try, fail, and try again. This time, it was called Proposition 13. It didn't have much of a chance. In fact, the political establishment developed a rival measure called Proposition 8. The strategy seemed likely to succeed — defuse Proposition 13 with Proposition 8.

But, then, it was revealed that Jerry Brown was sitting on a surplus. At the same time, property assessments were being mailed out. They were much higher, causing huge increases in property taxes. It was a double whammy: the indignity of homeowners being hit with a huge property tax bill with the revelation that the state might have billions extra.

The Republican Primary candidates for governor included the former Los Angeles police chief, Ed ("hang 'em at the airport") Davis and

the slow-growth mayor of San Diego, Pete Wilson. But the guy who won the Primary was not a



plotter, but a plodder, the state's attorney general. His name was Evelle Younger, and he surprised the *Los Angeles Times* and "moderates" when he boldly supported Proposition 13 — which Davis and Wilson opposed.

The main leader of the statewide opposition to Proposition 13 was none other than the governor himself, Jerry

Brown. He led the parade of public officials who predicted doomsday if Proposition 13 passed. Younger, the state's chief law enforcement officer as attorney general, refused to join the chorus. Once Younger belatedly committed himself in the Primary, he urged voters to support Proposition 13.

But after Younger's Primary victory, something funny happened on the way to November.

In the Primary, as one of Younger's outside consultants, I had fought hard for Younger to endorse Proposition 13. After the presentations, conference calls, and memos, I finally, and barely, prevailed. Then, right after his Primary win, I urged Younger to seize the moment and build on his momentum for November. As one of Younger's two advertising consultants, I wanted to contrast Younger with Brown on this issue, and on others. I thought it was necessary to define Brown quickly, especially on Proposition 13. But Younger wanted to go to Hawaii. And his principal campaign consultant overruled me. He told Younger and his wife it would be just fine for them to go to Hawaii. Like many candidates, Younger wanted to be told what he wanted to hear. He liked the "good news" consultant who told him to go to Hawaii.

That brings to mind the Bill Simon campaign. We don't know the whole story behind Bill Si-

mon's initial decision not to release his tax returns. But we know his campaign team went along. Instead, they would have served him better by telling him what he needed to hear. Early.

In his first iteration, Simon began as an appealing and earnest "candidate of ideas." I wrote early-on that this Clark Kent had the capacity to morph into Superman. But, like any candidate, especially a novice, he needed tough advisers who would present a united front. From the beginning, they had to tell him what the race for governor required. For example, around April 15, you would be asked for your tax returns. Have them ready.

Jerry Brown's administration was a caricature. His counter-cultural advisers were in charge of building freeways. The man responsible for what order existed was his chief of staff, a stuffed-shirt named Gray Davis.

The Simon tax returns showed that the candidate made good money, paid plenty in taxes, and gave generously to charity. All in all, Bill Simon's tax returns were a positive. He had reason to be proud. What would have been a plus for him was transformed into a negative.

From the beginning, the Simon campaign ran Simon as a business success. This was, in many ways, like the original Richard Riordan campaign for mayor of Los Angeles in 1993. The difference was that Riordan was prepared to tell his story. And Simon's campaign said the story was a secret. He was a business success, they said, but the details would breach confidential agreements. Once again, Simon needed his closest advisers to help him get his story out. Don't make your business success a theme unless you can talk about it.

By the time you read this, top Republicans hope the people closest to Bill Simon are help-

ing him by telling him what he needs to hear. This is a candidate that Republicans want to win. They want a "candidate of ideas." Moreover, Republicans believe Gray Davis has done a poor job. Republicans are not seduced by the supposed moderation of Davis. They know he is a committed partisan.

Republicans are frustrated, because they believe Davis is vulnerable. His persistent bad numbers tell the story of an unpopular governor who lacks any enthusiasm, even among his own Party. That's why Republicans have hoped for a long time that Simon will make the compelling case that Davis almost single-handedly is responsible for the state's budgetary woes.

Davis is relentless. In some ways, his model is his one-time boss, Jerry Brown.

Right after the Primary in 1978, Jerry Brown hit the ground running, and he never stopped. By November, people forgot that in June Younger had supported Proposition 13, and Brown opposed it. Polls showed they put their faith in Brown over Younger to implement Proposition 13. Indeed, Brown had neutralized Howard Jarvis himself, who moved from backing Younger, who had gone out on a limb for him, to a sort of benevolent neutrality.

Thus, Davis learned the importance of ballot measures. He was cautious in not going overboard to oppose the 1994 measure, Proposition 187, to limit state benefits to illegal immigrants. Nor was he a leader in taking on Proposition 209, the 1996 measure to prohibit state government race and gender preferences. Indeed, upon his election, Davis angered his lieutenant governor by not aggressively challenging Proposition 187. And he announced that he would implement, not challenge, Proposition 209.

Davis also learned a lesson from the Rose Bird era. Governor Jerry Brown had appointed Bird the chief justice of the California Supreme Court. Bumbling and meddlesome, she was an academic liberal quite unqualified for the post. A strident feminist, she even angered women's groups with one decision suggesting a rapist did not intend "great bodily harm." Anyway, Davis emerged from the experience determined never to concede crime to the Republicans. In the Legislature and as governor, he formed alliances with victims groups and law enforcement groups.

So, with Jerry Brown in the summer of 1978, we had a lesson in momentum. If you have a Primary win — and Bill Simon had an impressive victory in March — you move quickly to build on it. And Jerry Brown defined the election his way.

By 1982, the mayor of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley, looked like quite the formidable candidate for governor. He was at the height of his popularity in a city whose television and radio market reached nearly half the state. He could mobilize black voter turnout, and he could appeal to moderate whites. They could feel comfortable voting for Tom Bradley as an expression of their open-mindedness. Bradley was soft spoken and a former police officer.

The Republican candidate, George Deukmejian, was yet another attorney general. Before that, he had been a state senator. Deukmejian's detractors criticized him as boring. But Tom Bradley was hardly exciting. Neither campaign generated excitement. The Deukmejian campaign was quite pedestrian. Near the end, it seemed that Bradley would win. By election night, pollster Mervin Field was insisting that Bradley had it. In his most famous example of unprofessionalism, Merv Field that election night (indeed, even in the wee hours of the morning of the day after) also predicted that Pete Wilson would lose his senate race to Jerry Brown. In fact, Wilson won handily.

So, there was something more at work than absentee ballots. Field's numbers were not very accurate, and it was not merely that absentee votes upset his exit poll calculus. His stubborn personal preference for Democrats affected his work. For reasons unclear, the Field poll has continued to be taken seriously.

The absentees were helpful for Wilson, but



they were hardly decisive. Wilson won his U.S. senate race easily, in part because his opponent was Jerry Brown. Voters finally found a way to repudiate his years as governor.



But it was a different matter in the Deukmejian race. Bradley's campaign, not great, seemed to be going better than Deukmejian's. However, a gun control ballot measure helped turn out some rural Republicans and conservative Democrats, and that helped Duke. Despite Bradley's mistakes late in the campaign, he actually still won on election day. But the victory margin was trumped by Duke's lead in absentee ballots. The California Republican Party had done a brilliant job of securing absentee ballots. In a technique that Democrats learned and now do just as well, or better, the Republicans put big bucks into getting voters to apply for absentee ballots, and then vote.

In a Deukmejian-Bradley rematch in 1986, Duke easily won reelection. Bradley's popularity had peaked in 1984 with the Olympics. By the mid-'80s, the California economy was doing well again. Deukmejian had shown himself to be a competent governor in an administration free of scandal.

After Duke's eight years, Pete Wilson was elected in 1990 in a tough race against Dianne Feinstein. The Wilson campaign was a good one. And he was reelected in 1994 in an easy race against Kathleen Brown. Her campaign was full of false starts and changing slogans. She lacked a strategy. Eventually, her campaign spent so much, so early, that it actually ran out of money near the end.

And that brings us to 1998. Once again, we had a California attorney general (remember — Bill Knowland, Pat Brown, Evelle Younger, George Deukmejian, John van de Kamp) running for governor. This time, it was Dan Lungren. He ran a well-funded campaign that never connected with the electorate. We need not go

into the details except to say that it was not a fair test of ideas. It was more a rejection of Dan Lungren's style.

For 2002, there was great concern that no one could raise enough money against Gray Davis. The incumbent governor had always been a prodigious fundraiser. But in the 1998 Primary, Davis had run against mega-bucks Al Checchi. This

*Voters believe all politicians
raise money for access.
They need to understand
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policy and contributions
in the Davis
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than politics as usual.*

rich guy spent \$40 million in a disastrous primary. Like Riordan four years later, Checchi had TV spots that actually made him look worse on camera than in person. But Davis determined to raise money for his reelection. Immediately upon his swearing-in, and with a vengeance, he personally and relentlessly spearheaded his fundraising.

Part of Simon's challenge is to differentiate Davis from other politicians. Voters believe all politicians raise money for access. They need to understand that linkage between public policy and contributions in the Davis administration is more than politics as usual. And the consequences for the public interest are profound.

Davis has had persistently bad numbers. The myth was that a candidate had to spend as much as Davis to defeat him. All an opposing candidate requires is credibility for himself and his campaign, a theme, a strategy, and technical excellence in the execution of a campaign plan.

If Bill Simon loses, we'll be told it's because he has the wrong position on abortion. Win or lose, this campaign will not be decided on the basis of abortion or any other single issue.

The Other Statewide Races

The Republican Party's impressive candidates

for statewide office face one overriding problem: money. The Democrats are vastly better funded. In some cases, we're talking about the advantages of incumbency — as with Attorney General Bill Lockyer. In other cases, we're talking about personal wealth (Steve Westley for controller).

Observe that although money is the starting point, we're talking about more than campaign money. The Democrats will have the unions and other Democrat constituencies mounting get-out-the-vote drives. Republicans cannot do anything comparable. Thus, the expenditures in support of Democrats are beyond what you see in the candidate's campaign. A synergy affects these races. Redistricting has effectively frozen Democrat power in the state Senate and Assembly. This encourages lobbyists to contribute to Democrats. They have more secure seats than do Republicans. There is more coordination among Democrat legislators and legislative candidates. Although many Democrat incumbents are known to be hostile to Davis, they remain committed to Democrat patronage.

The two political parties both serve as conduits for campaign cash for legislative races. That's because the new campaign laws vest more power in each party. But the Democrats, as the majority party, have more fundraising clout. All in all, it's a smooth-running machine.

Moreover, the \$60 million Davis raised has not come at the cost of these Democrat candidates' fund raising. Attorney General Lockyer is a prodigious fundraiser, based on the experience he gained as a state legislator and as

Democrat leader of the state senate. Steve Westley, who runs against Tom McClintock for controller, is independently wealthy. That means *nine* digits: more than \$100 million.



Consider what the reporting period showed for the six months ending June 30. These are the reports that were filed by July 31. Probably the most important figure is cash on hand, minus any payables. I examined the Republican campaigns to see if they had invested their campaign dollars in assets. For example, suppose a campaign invested in fundraising mailings prior to June 30, but it had yet to see the proceeds. Or, suppose a campaign had prepaid a consultant for services. Or, suppose a campaign had bought television time in advance. These kinds of investments or prepayments would be assets.

That generally was not the case with these Republican campaigns. What you saw was what you get. These are not campaigns trying to lull the Democrats into a false sense of complacency. They are having a tough time.

Davis had nearly \$32 million on hand, Simon \$5 million. But, again, I believe that there is potential for the right kind of campaign despite the cash imbalance.

Lieutenant governor

Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante faces state Senator Bruce McPherson. McPherson had already spent nearly a half million dollars by June 30. His cash on hand was about \$800,000, compared to Bustamante's \$2.2 million. If Simon does well, McPherson has potential. And if Simon is not doing well, there remains the question of whether voters disenchanted with Davis would vote for a Republican lieutenant governor. They did this in 1978, when they voted for Mike Curb for lieutenant governor at the same time they elected Jerry Brown governor. But Bustamante is no Mervyn Dymally (Brown's lieutenant governor).

Secretary of State

The incumbent secretary of state is Bill Jones, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in the Republican Primary. The Jones showing in March was not as dismal as you might remember. Sure, he received only 18 percent, compared to Riordan's 30 percent. But Riordan started the race 'way ahead, then spent \$6 million on TV ads to Jones's \$200,000. Republican Keith Olberg, who served with distinction in the Assembly, wants to succeed Jones. Olberg already spent nearly

\$468,000 during the first half of the year. His balance of about \$500,000 is more than Kevin's Shelley's, in part because Shelley spent more than \$2 million in the Primary.

Controller

Incumbent Kathleen Connell is termed out this year. Steve Westley bought his Primary victory, spending \$4.6 million. Still, Westley has more than a million on hand and he has deep pockets. He lists himself as businessman educator. State Senator Tom McClintock defeated Dean Andal in the Republican Primary. For conservatives, the race was needlessly divisive, since both McClintock and Andal were appealing and attractive. McClintock has potential, because he is a knowledgeable and articulate candidate.

Treasurer

The incumbent is Philip Angelides, a highly-charged partisan Democrat. His Republican opponent, Greg Conlon, lists himself as businessman/CPA. On June 30, Angelides had \$6 million in the bank. Conlon had \$28,000 and debts of \$150,000.

Attorney General

Incumbent Bill Lockyer is former majority leader in the state Senate. Lockyer's opponent is the respected Dick Ackerman, a state senator and an attorney. Here, the money balance is especially marked: Lockyer had more than \$6 million, one hundred times what Ackerman has. But Lockyer does not use the office nearly as effectively as past incumbent AGs. Ackerman has a story to tell, if he can get the resources.

Insurance Commissioner

This is another office with no incumbent. Chuck Quackenbush was one of only two Republicans (along with Bill Jones) to hold statewide office after the 1998 losses. John Garamendi is a Democrat with lots of problems in

his background. Gary Mendoza has an impressive record in accounting, law, and public service. Although Garamendi lists about \$1 million on hand, compared to Mendoza's \$353,000, that doesn't tell the full story. Garamendi has campaign debts of more than \$700,000. So, compared to some of the other candidates, Mendoza is in a relatively good cash position.

Superintendent of Public Instruction

This is another tough one. Democrat Jack O'Connell spent \$3.8 million, but he still had more than \$500,000 in the bank on June 30. Republican Katherine Smith had less than \$10,000.

For these statewide offices, there are four or five candidates from lesser parties — American Independent, Green, Libertarian, Natural Law, and Reform. It is conceivable that these five parties together could poll as much as 5 percent in any given race, enough to tip the balance.

Either Simon wins, or Simon loses.

If Simon wins, would he have coattails? Or would it simply be an anti-Davis vote? To have coattails, Simon will need a decisive win, which means, in part, a pro-Simon vote, not just anti-Davis.

The Democrats have another advantage, or disadvantage, as the case may be. Three of their major statewide candidates share the same consultant, Bill Carrick. That means they will have a level of coordination that may be missing among Republicans.

Finally, there is a statewide ballot measure that could affect Republicans for years to come: Proposition 52, which would allow election day voter registration. Translated, that means Democrats could use street money to recruit low-propensity voters on the day of the election. Republicans would be wise to put Proposition 52 on their radar screen, along with these statewide candidates.

CPR



California Assembly

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO

MEMBER, CPR EDITORIAL BOARD

Continuing CPR's
ELECTION SPECIAL,
William E. Saracino
sketches California's
153 Assembly,
state Senate, and
Congressional
races leading up
to November 5.

D

DISTRICT 1 Reg: D 46%; R 30%; DS 15%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Virginia Strom-Martin (D) termed out. Geography: North coast, from Mendocino County to the Oregon border.

A competitive four-way Democrat Primary nominated Eureka-based teacher and liberal activist Patty Berg in this strongly Democrat seat. As befits a district trending increasingly toward extreme liberal and no-growth (anti-private property) positions, Berg is a liberal, anti-private property Democrat. She prepared for this election by leading a ballot initiative in 1999 that stopped a Wal-Mart opening in Eureka. Berg is for "choice" in killing unborn children, but not for local consumers in choosing where to shop.

Lake County Supervisor Rob Brown won the Republican Primary. To have a chance in November, he will require a strong campaign ... by the local Green Party. Given the rumblings of environmental wacko unhappiness with Governor Davis, this could happen. Ralph Nader received 11 percent of this district's vote for president in 2000. To have a chance to win, Brown would need that kind of performance by Green Assembly candidate Doug Thron. He might also win at poker by drawing to inside straights.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 2 Reg: R 47%; D 36%; DS 12%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dick Dickerson (R) running for Senate. Geography: The Sacramento Valley from just north of Sacramento to the Oregon border.

In what became a recurring pattern for the 2002 Primary, a conservative routed a moderate here, as Butte County farmer Doug LaMalfa trounced early favorite Redding Councilwoman Pat Kight. CPR's pre-Primary analysis said that "if either LaMalfa or Byrne (the other conservative candidate) becomes the consensus choice of the district's conservatives, that candidate would be favored to win." LaMalfa worked hard at becoming that consensus choice, picking up endorsements from local icon Assemblyman Tim Leslie, former Senator Jim Nielsen, "Three Strikes" author Mike Reynolds, and the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers' Association. The electorate here is conservative: Dan Lungren carried

the district by 10 percent, and President Bush achieved an eye-popping 26 percent margin over Al Gore. Departing Assemblyman (he ran for the state Senate) Dick Dickerson's decision to join four Republicans voting for Gray Davis's tax-hike budget last year raised the issue of loyalty to conservative positions even higher than usual for these voters. Once a clear conservative front-runner emerged, the race was essentially over. LaMalfa ended up coasting to a 59 to 23 percent victory over Kight.

Democrat Doug Kinyon will do well to break 40 percent in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 Reg: R 43%; D 35%; DS 15%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Sam Aanestad (R) running for Senate. Geography: The northeast quadrant of the state, including Butte, Lassen, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, and Yuba counties.

This district lies alongside District 2, and both its Primary and Primary results resembled those of its next-door neighbor. Entering stage left was Butte County businessman Dan Ostrander, a former Democrat who, although he changed parties, apparently changed few of his views.

Stage right was Chico Councilman Rick Keene. As in District 2, A.D. 3's GOP electorate is solidly conservative. Ostrander hoped to win by burying Keene (and hiding his own liberal views) beneath an avalanche of money. He put more than \$400,000 of his own cash into the race. But Keene, like Doug LaMalfa nearby, was helped by the statewide conservative network, and

had been endorsed by local GOP heroes Senator Rico Oller, Assemblyman Sam Aanestad (who vacated the seat to run for state Senate), and Congressman John Doolittle.

These endorsements, and sufficient cash to allow Keene to contrast his views with Ostrander's for GOP Primary voters, added up to an easy 59 to 41 percent Keene victory. As we will have occasion to mention more than once in these analyses, Primary victories in safe GOP districts by clear conservatives over clear moderates or liberals is a "dog bites man" non-story. Moderate "pundits," looking at Democrat voter-skewed 2000 Primaries, have, on occasion, added two plus two to reach five. If Democrats can't vote in Republican primaries, conservatives start with a large advantage everywhere in the state with the exception of a handful of Bay Area districts. Primary election results, unsurprisingly, tend to reflect the make-up of the typical Primary election voter.

Not only will Keene win in November; he will certainly be able to serve all three terms in the Assembly. Democrat Stuart King will be no "king for a day" come November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 Reg: R 47%; D 34%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Tim Leslie (R) Geography: A slice of north Sacramento County, Alpine, El Dorado and Placer counties.

Tim Leslie — one of the Legislature's genuinely nice people — will easily be re-elected here, his old, familiar stomping grounds, for his last term in the Legislature.

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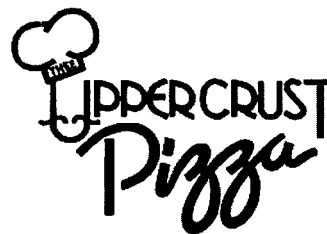
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Democrat Scott Warren is unlikely to equal Al Gore's 38 percent.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 5 Reg: R 44%; D 38%; DS 13%

Incumbent: Dave Cox (R) **Geography:** Northern Sacramento County and a slice of southern Placer County.

Republican Assembly leader Dave Cox is snug as can be in A.D. 5, which gave President Bush a 12-point margin over Al Gore and thrice elected conservative leader Barbara Alby. Cox used this security to good effect during the 2002 budget battle, holding his fractious caucus together longer than anyone thought possible. Termed out in 2004, Cox — unless Congressman Doug Ose runs against Senator Barbara Boxer (which he is hinting at doing) — has no obvious place to land. Having shown a strong, steady hand in leading the Assembly Caucus, he will be re-elected easily. Democrat Eric Ullis poses no threat.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 6 Reg: D 50%; R 27%; DS 16%

Incumbent: Joe Nathan (D) **Geography:** Marin County, western portion of Sonoma County.

Most everything has been said that can be about Marin, John Walker Lindh, and the rest of the self-absorbed, angst-ridden liberals inhabiting this district. Joe Nation will easily be re-elected. Republican Kenneth Hitt will certainly *not* be one on election day.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 7 Reg: D 52%; R 29%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Patricia Wiggins (D) **Geography:** Napa County, most of Sonoma County, the northwest portion of Solano County.

Nearly 60,000 registered Republicans live in this district, and not one of them could be convinced to run for the Assembly. If it's true that politics is a game of fundamentals — blocking and tackling — then the GOP here hasn't even put on their pads: a telling commentary on the state of the Party in this wine country enclave. Pat Wiggins, although not a prolific fundraiser, can ship whatever spare cash she has to Democrats in close races around the state.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 8 Reg: D 47%; R 32%; DS 16%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Helen Thomson (D) **Geography:** Most of Solano and Yolo counties.

Just as conservatives won most of the GOP's contested primaries, liberals won most of them in the donkey party. Yolo County Supervisor Lois Wolk benefited both from her leftist ideology and her gender. In a three-way race she was the only woman, and far and away the most liberal. That brought her 41 percent of the vote in March, enough to beat second place finisher, West Sacramento Councilman Chris Cabaldon, by 10 points. Wolk joins a long list of ultra-liberal winners of closely-contested Democrat Primaries. It will be interesting to see if this does anything to explode the myth — propagated by the California business community — of the existence of a group of "moderate" Assembly Democrats. Business spent lots of money trying to nominate "moderates" in districts like this one. Their batting average approached zero.

GOP nominee John Munn has the potential to run an interesting, though probably not winning, race if he's able to put any financing together. The two less-liberal Democrat candidates received 59 percent of the vote in March. President Bush pulled 41 percent in 2000. Wolk's brand of leftist puritanism plays well in the People's Republic of Davis, but not in the district's rural areas. Munn might at least force Wolk to campaign vigorously, but he won't beat her.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 9 Reg: D 58%; R 23%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Darrell Steinberg (D) **Geography:** All but the north and eastern portions of Sacramento County.

This district came in at 29 percent for President Bush. It won't deny Darrell Steinberg his last stint in the Assembly. Steinberg's worry is not Republican David Pegos, but what office to run for in 2004. With Deborah Ortiz in the state Senate and Bob Matsui in Congress, no obvious openings are available. Steinberg is a serious liberal, seriously addicted to government. Count on seeing him on the ballot again, somewhere, for something.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 10 *Reg: R 45%; D 40%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Anthony Pescetti (R) not running. **Geography:** Amador County, southern El Dorado County, southeastern Sacramento County, and northern San Joaquin County.

Lodi Mayor and ophthalmologist Alan Nakanishi won a spirited, four-way GOP Primary with some ease, garnering nearly 50 percent of the vote. That was no surprise. Nakanishi had run twice before in the area, including a very strong race for the state Senate against Mike Machado, losing that contest by less than 1,000 votes. Additionally, Nakanishi was seen as the leading conservative candidate, another plus in this district. Labor unions tried to make mischief here, backing Jon Bagatelos. However, as this wasn't 2000, and Democrats could not vote in the GOP contest, Bagatelos flamed out at 14 percent.

The Democrat Primary was also spirited, with legislative aide Katherine Maestas defeating another (former) legislative aide, Ken Cooley. As an interesting side-note on the difference between the two Parties, this district contains a high number of state employees. The GOP most usually nominates local businessmen: Nakanishi now, incumbent Anthony Pescetti the last two times. The Democrats' 2000 candidate, like Maestas and Cooley, was a legislative aide. Term limits have broken the GOP's bad habit of promoting Capitol workers — usually with no "real life" work experience — up to the Legislature. No such salubrious effect has yet been noted among the Democrats.

Were it not for all those state workers, this district would be absolutely solid GOP turf. President Bush received 53 percent of the vote here, as did Matt Fong against Barbara Boxer. Dave Stirling, Chuck Quackenbush, and Bill Jones also all carried the district in 1998. But expect the Democrats to make a run here. For one thing, they have precious few other areas in which to spend their money. For another, they came close to carrying the district — though in a slightly less Republican configuration — in 1998. Nakanishi and his campaign are well aware of these factors and will attempt to bury Maestas early in hopes of diverting Democrat eyes — and money — elsewhere. That is the most likely scenario: a Democrat feint here, but not a total, five-alarm effort. Still, this seat bears watching.

LIKELY REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 11 *Reg: D 54%; R 27%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Joe Canciamilla (D) **Geography:** Northern and central Contra Costa County.

This district was zigged and zagged specifically for Joe Canciamilla, who will reap the benefit in November. GOP nominee Jan Denny's best hope is that the district's working class voters mistake her name for the restaurant chain.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 12 *Reg: D 54%; R 15%; DS 26%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Kevin Shelly (D) termed out. **Geography:** South and west San Francisco, a slice of north San Mateo County.

San Francisco Supervisor Leland Yee put this race away early, perhaps even before filing closed, with the support of Mayor Willie Brown, state Senator John Burton, and outgoing incumbent Kevin Shelly. He coasted to a 2-to-1 victory in the Primary. He will do much better against Republican Howard Epstein in this district with a GOP registration of 16 percent.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 13 *Reg: D 57%; R 12%; DS 24%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Carole Migden (D) termed out. **Geography:** Northern and eastern San Francisco.

As befits a district that gave President Bush 13 percent, the Democrat Primary to succeed ultra-liberal Carol Migden was a fight between the far left, represented by County Supervisor Mark Leno, and the very far left, represented by former County Supervisor Harry Britt. Leno carried endorsements from local heavyweights Dianne Feinstein, Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, and neighboring Assemblyman Kevin Shelly. Britt was endorsed by Migden, Board of Supervisor President Tom Ammiano, and the local labor council.

Like most internecine wars, this contest got ugly, personal, and bloody, Leno emerging the winner by less than 2,000 votes. He will have no problem disposing of GOP nominee Gail Neira.

Although nearly \$1 million was spent by all candidates and independent expenditure committees on this race, the official Democrat Primary turnout was 35 percent. Perhaps the bitter Primary turned people off. But, perhaps too, a more likely explanation is that most

of the 65 percent who didn't appear at the polls are voters that *don't really exist*.

Remember, San Francisco is the town where last election a ballot box was found floating in the bay. Remember also, Mayor Willie Brown's less-than-legendary concern for combating voter fraud. My bet is that real turnout among voters who have not assumed room temperature was in the mid 60s. Anyone want to bet a martini on the result and do the research? Let me know.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 14 Reg: D 60%; R 18%; DS 16%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dion Aroner (D) termed out.

Geography: Western portions of Alameda and Contra Costa counties, including Berkeley, Richmond, Oakland, and Lafayette.

A repeat of the ideological battle of District 13, without the spice of the local internal warfare. Democrat Primary winner Loni Hancock probably considers the label "far left" a compliment. She is a Democrat in the Maxine Waters/Barbara Lee, "hate America and blame it first for all world ills" mold. A former councilwoman and mayor of Berkeley, she won the three-way Primary with a surprisingly strong 54 percent of the vote.

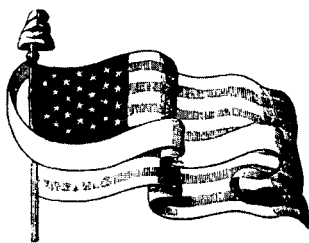
What remains of a "center-left" coalition in Bay Area Democrat politics was represented by West Contra Costa school board member Charles Ramsey. He had strong labor support, and the endorsement of Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamonte — all for naught. Those in Sacramento who insist on speaking of "moderate" Democrats would do well to study Ramsey's 28 percent showing. Few voters in this district will notice that no GOP candidate appears on the ballot.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 15 Reg: R 44%; D 38%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Lynne Leach (R) termed out. Geography: Eastern portions of Alameda and

Contra Costa County, southern portion of San Joaquin County, a far western slice of Sacramento County.



Perhaps most of the 65 percent who didn't vote *don't really exist*. San Francisco is the town where last election a ballot box was found floating in the bay.

This once rock-solid Republican turf is now the GOP's last island of east bay legislative representation. Redistricting reduced the Republican registration edge by a couple of points, but actually strengthened the Party's base vote, replacing moderate Contra Costa swing voters with more loyal Republicans in San Joaquin County. Nonetheless, the GOP hold here is tentative, and the last thing the Party needed — or wanted — was a conservative/liberal fight.

Such a fight was brewing in the Primary, but conservative Gordon Blake never had the cash to engage in much of a battle. His 40 percent of the vote is more a testimony to left-over name ID from a strong 2000 race for Congress. Guy Houston, former mayor of Dublin, is more moderate (though still fairly described as conservative on most issues) in his politics and was the choice of Sacramento GOP leadership, who figured Houston would be the stronger bet to keep the dis-

trict in the pachyderm column.

He will test that theory against Democrat nominee Contra Costa County Supervisor Donna Gerber. To win this swing district, she will try to convince voters she is "moderate." Houston will try to convince voters that Gerber is really a "San Francisco Democrat."

Whoever wins the ID battle wins the election. Though the task is that simple, enormous amounts of cash will be spent in its execution. This district is at the top of both Party's target lists. President Bush won here, 49 to 47 percent, in 2000, and while that's not overwhelming, it is eight points above his statewide average. Because the district is in the San Francisco media market, television is prohibitively expensive, at least under the usual rules. If the candidates appear on the tube, it will be a reliable marker both Parties have decided this is a "bottomless checkbook" race. Expect it to end up in that category.

Pockets of strong, loyal GOP registration exist here.

If Houston gets them to vote, he should end up the winner, bloodied and battered though he may also be. Gerber, however, cannot be counted out: in a "bottomless checkbook" war, the Democrat checkbook has a much deeper bottom. This race will be close to the end.

LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 *Reg: D 63%; R 12%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Wilma Chan (D) Geography: Southern Alameda County.

A Bay Area district where Decline-to-State voters outnumber Republicans, the 16th elected Green Party member Audi Bock in a 1999 special. But one-term incumbent Wilma Chan need fear no such apostasy in a regular election. Republican George Nugent should set his sights on breaking double digits in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 17 *Reg: D 49%; R 40%; DS 8%*

Incumbent: Barbara Matthews (D) Geography: Parts of Merced, San Joaquin, and Stanislaus counties.

It's been a see-saw year so far for the newly-drawn 17th, created by Democrat map-makers to give Barbara Matthews — a narrow winner in 2000 — as much breathing room as possible. When the district was created, GOP registration was 35 percent. Shortly after that, the Dean Andal GOP registration machine went into action and drove the Republican share into the low 40s. After that, Democrats responded with a registration drive of their own that dropped the GOP number a couple of points.

What it all means is that the 17th remains very much in play. Matthews is one of the "moderate Democrats" that California big business likes to tout. While she has been careful on some votes, especially those that are ag-related, her overall record is still well to the left of this area's average voter. Therein lies her weakness, or there it *would* lie, except that GOP nominee Brian McCabe's moderate views are more suited to a Bay Area district's GOP base than to that of this San Joaquin Valley, ag-based seat. Republicans here are loyal though, so McCabe should have little trouble keeping them in his column.

The 17th, like the neighboring 26th, is a top target for both Parties. But whereas Bush hit 52 percent in the

26th, he pulled only 44 percent here. McCabe's challenge will be to convince as many as possible of the district's conservative Democrats and its 27 percent of voters who are Hispanic to abandon Democrat Matthews. That challenge will be less formidable if Republicans achieve election-day GOP registration in the low- to mid-40s. Watch that number. Anything much below 40 percent quickly starts to move this seat out of Republican reach. Conversely, every point above 42 or so puts Matthews in exceptional danger.

Matthews maintains significant advantages, incumbency not the least of them. And given the Democrat war chest and the paucity of competitive seats, she ought to be able to outspend McCabe. Even so, she remains no more than a slight favorite.

TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 18 *Reg: D 56%; R 24%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Ellen Corbett (D) Geography: Central Alameda County.

Ellen Corbett is secure in this district full of blue collar — and yellow dog — Democrats. Republican Jack Hoving won't teach these old dogs any new tricks.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

District 19 *Reg: D 51%; R 27%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Lou Pappan (D) termed out. Geography: All but northern-most San Mateo County.

How the mighty have fallen. In *CPR's* pre-Primary edition, the 19th was described as the "celebrity death match" district for the Democrats, and thus it turned out to be. The "Pappan dynasty" was the celebrity that died, and the Democrat left-wing once again emerged victorious in a safe Democrat seat.

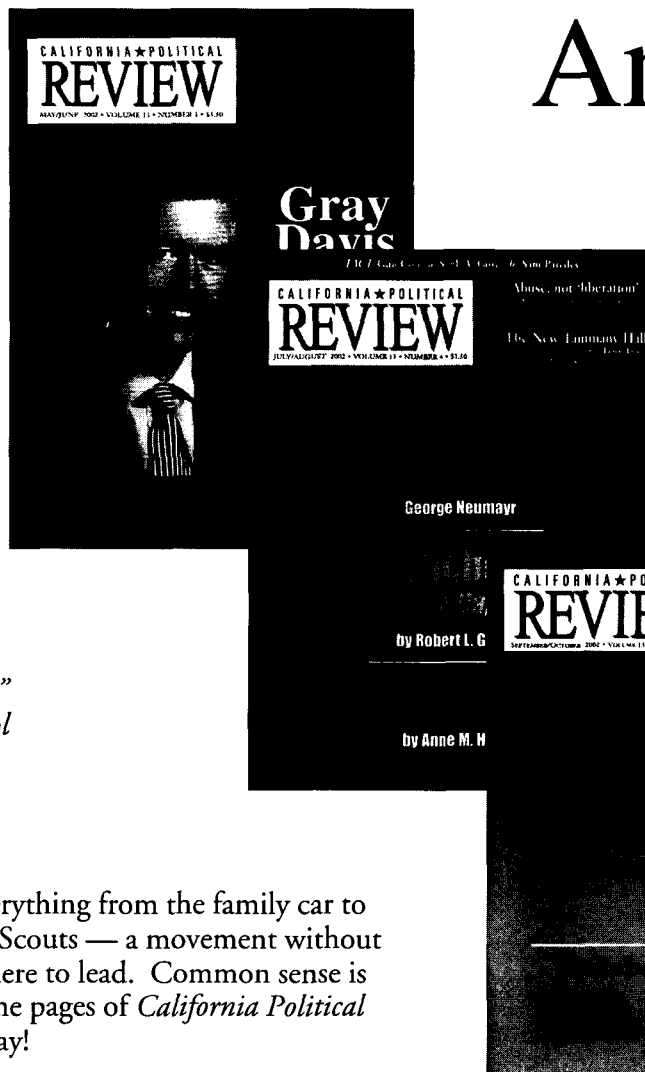
Lou Pappan once ruled the roost as Willie Brown's right hand man, and main thuggish enforcer. After a losing state Senate race and a return to the Assembly, he seemed to have mellowed some. Also, his politics actually merited the much overused description: "moderate," at least on business issues. The Primary was a battle to see a) if Pappan could elect his daughter Gina; and b) if real moderates have any future in the Assembly Democrat caucus. The Primary results delivered a resounding "no" to both.

Gina Papan entered the contest with enormous advantages, including not only her father's name but

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\$360,000 of his campaign cash. She was endorsed by Speaker Herb Wesson, former Speaker Bob Hertzberg, Senate President John Burton, Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamonte, the California Professional Firefighters, and the California AFL-CIO. That kind of line-up used to insure a runaway win in Democrat primaries.

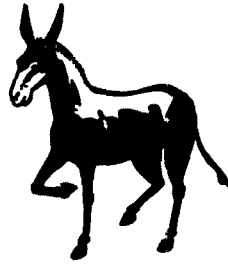
No more. The Democrat winner, South San Francisco Mayor Gene Mullin was supported by the Donkey Party's new power nexus: left-wing incumbents and well-healed statewide associations that are now quasi-socialist in their politics like the California Nurses Association and the League of Conservation Voters. Most decisive though, Mullin was supported by the group that is fast becoming Democrats' ultimate puppet-master: trial lawyers. Against this new ruling politburo, Gina Papan's traditional Democrat campaign could muster only 34 percent to Mullin's 42.

As with numerous other safely-Democrat districts, the results here should be a bucket-full of ice cold water for the California business community and others who say "moderate" Democrats not only exist in sizable numbers but that their numbers can be increased. As card players are wont to say, "read 'em and weep." Primary results here and around the state tightened the hard left's strangle hold on the Assembly Democrat caucus. Only time will tell if business can shed its blinders and stop living a charade. Big business's excuse for "feeding the alligator" of Democrat legislative dominance — that they could "triangulate" between Governor Davis and a small, but large enough to be decisive, group of moderate Democrats — was exploded in the March Primary. The fall campaign's giving patterns will indicate if the suits in the wood-paneled corporate suites have gotten the message. Mullin need not worry about GOP nominee David Kawas.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 20 *Reg: D 48%; R 27%; DS 20%*
Incumbent: John Dutra (D) Geography: Western

and southern Alameda County, northeastern Santa Clara County.



**Gene Mullin was
supported by the group
that is fast becoming
Democrats' ultimate
puppet-master:
trial lawyers.**

Republicans held this seat briefly in the 1980s, and a few more registration points could make them at least competitive again, thanks to the district's many working-class, somewhat conservative Democrats. But for now, John Dutra has two things to crow about. First, sharing a last name with the premier GOP political printer in the state. And, probably more important to Dutra personally, his solid lock on this assembly seat. Republican Daniel Dow will find a definite bear market for his stock among the voters.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 21 *Reg: 45%; R 33%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Joe Simitian (D) Geography: Northern and central Santa Clara County, southwestern San Mateo County.

Registration figures like these would make a district competitive in other parts of the state. But this district's Republicans, by and large,

are wealthy liberals who wake up each morning with guilt pains about their success, not to mention their Party registration. They assuage these feelings by voting like Democrats once they get into the voting booth; giving Bush 35 percent in 2000, Dan Lungren 32 percent in 1998, and the Green Party's Assembly candidate 10 percent in 2000.

Joe Simitian won easily against a somewhat serious GOP effort when this was an open seat in 2000. GOP nominee James Russell will not be able to mount such an effort this year.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 22 *Reg: D 44%; R 29%; DS 22%*
Incumbent: Open Seat — Elaine Alquist (D) termed out. Geography: Central Santa Clara County.

Like Gina Papan in District 19, Santa Clara City

Councilman Rod Diridon, Jr., entered this Primary with huge advantages. As the son of a popular and eponymously-named former county supervisor, he was well-known. He had the endorsements of Senator John Vasconcellos, Assemblyman Fred Kelley, former Congressman Norm Mineta, and a broad range of labor organizations. He practiced "centrist" politics, at least what passes for such in the Democrat Party. But like Gina Papan, Diridon ran into the left-wing buzz-saw that dominated Democrat legislative primaries this year.

The same coalition that supported the victorious Gene Mullin against Papan weighed in behind the victor here, Mountain View City Councilwoman Sally Lieber. Another Democrat "moderate" vanquished, another leftist vote for the Assembly Democrat Caucus, and another defeat for the California business community's Sisyphean efforts to moderate legislative Democrats. The phrase "good money after bad" does come to mind. As noted earlier, business's contribution profile to legislative candidates this fall will tell whether they've learned from these Primary battles, and whether they've returned to their Republican roots or now think they can buy the kind of influence they have with Gray Davis with this new crop of hard-left Democrat legislators.

Lieber is a cinch for November. On election day, about the same number of voters will know how to spell GOP nominee Stan Kawczynski's name as will vote for him.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 23 *Reg: D 53%; R 22%; DS 20%*
Incumbent: Manny Diaz (D) Geography: San Jose

Manny Diaz's toughest race was his first, the 2000 Primary, which he won by a hair. He won't need to stock up on rogain to keep this Democrat and Hispanic seat. No Republican filed.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 24 *Reg: D 46%; R 32%; DS 18%*
Incumbent: Rebecca Cohn (D) Geography: Southern Santa Clara County.

Another sign of atrophy in the Republican infrastructure. This district, while remade by the map-makers into a strongly Democrat seat, still contains pockets of strong Republican registration such as

Campbell and Saratoga. A GOP candidate with even modest financing could make a respectable race here. However, although 70,000 registered Republicans live in the district, not one could be coaxed into running for the Assembly. In other parts of the state — Senate District 6, for instance — failure to field a candidate can be blamed on slip-ups in a conservative-leaning GOP infrastructure. But the 24th A.D. GOP is controlled by "moderates." Their lack of a candidate here undercuts the argument that more liberal Republicans are better equipped to lead the Party to victory.

Freshman incumbent Rebecca Cohn is the beneficiary of both the map-makers munificence and GOP incompetence. She can set about wondering what else to run for when she is termed out in 2006.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 25 *Reg: R 45%; D 40%; DS 11%*
Incumbent: Dave Cogdill (R) Geography: Calaveras, Madera, Mariposa, Mono, and Tuolumne counties and most of Stanislaus County.

Don't let the registration numbers fool you. The Democrats here are conservative, and vote Republican. This district is smack in the middle of the Republican-trending swath that runs through the Sierra foothills from just north of Bakersfield to the Oregon border. How Republican trending is it? In 1998 every statewide GOP candidate, including Dan Lungren, carried the district. Freshman Dave Cogdill can concentrate on helping elect Republicans in adjacent, competitive seats. Democrat E. Denise Smith will be no distraction.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 26 *Reg: D 45%; R 43%; DS 8%*
Incumbent: Open Seat — Dennis Cardoza (D) termed out. Geography: Western Stanislaus County, eastern San Joaquin County.

In the heart of the San Joaquin Valley, this is a seat Republicans should win, and probably will win, but the Democrats are going to make them work for it. GOP nominee Greg Aghazarian, a narrow loser to Barbara Matthews in 2000 (*see* A.D. 17), is running again in this similar, but significantly more Republican district. Aghazarian, a conservative businessman/attorney from Stockton, announced early for the seat and lined up impressive local endorsements and dollars. He was rewarded with a surprisingly easy 2-to-1 victory over fel-

low-conservative, Escalon farmer Rick Veldstra.

Democrat standard-bearer, attorney Tom Hallinan, is also a trustee of the Yosemite Community College District. In a district hostile to cultural and fiscal liberalism, he is campaigning as a moderate Democrat. President Bush's 7-point win here and Lungren's loss by only two shows a definite GOP tilt, but not so strongly as to prevent a Democrat victory under the right circumstances.

One factor that guarantees Democrat attention to the district is that it sits beneath the Condit Congressional seat (C.D. 18, Monteith vs. Cardoza) and the open 12th Senate District (Areias vs. Denham). These races will be hotly contested by both Parties. Voter registration and GOTV will be conducted with gusto. The Aghazarian/Hallinan contest will be swept along in the partisan warfare around it.

The potential GOP problem is that the well-funded Democrats, with only a small number of competitive races to absorb their cash, can buy as much campaign activity as they want to. Even if the Democrat hierarchy decides Aghazarian is the likely winner, they might continue to spend dollars here just to force the GOP to respond in kind, depleting Republicans' much-shallower treasury and their ability to fund GOP candidates in other close races. So the Democrats will make Aghazarian, a good fit for this still rural, conservative, Republican-leaning district, sweat and fight for it. But if he takes nothing for granted, he should be an Assemblyman come December.

LIKELY REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 27 Reg: D 46%; R 30%; DS 16%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Fred Keeley (D) termed out. Geography: Monterey, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz counties.

Like Greg Aghazarian in A.D. 26, Democrat John Laird announced early for the 27th, lining up impressive endorsements and cash. The reward for the Cabrillo College trustee was an unopposed Primary in this safely Democrat district. The GOP nominee, realtor Chuck Carter, has Republican pockets of strength to work with in Monterey County, but not nearly enough to balance the heavy Democrat turf in Santa Cruz. This largely coastal district will give Laird smooth sailing to Sacramento.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 28 Reg: D 51%; R 31%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Simon Salinas (D) Geography: Inland portions of Monterey and Santa Cruz counties, parts of San Benito and Santa Clara County.

Incumbent Simon Salinas may be the only legislator in America who shares the name of the town he represents. (For the geographically handicapped, that's the city of Salinas. There isn't a town named Simon in California as far as I know.) That factoid aside, this district, with 59 percent Hispanic population and 38 percent (and growing) Hispanic voter registration, fits Salinas comfortably. Although former Assemblyman Peter Frusetta, who was fluent in Spanish, won the old 28th three times for the GOP, redistricting removed several loyal Republican areas. Republican nominee Jane Howard, though well-known and liked locally, will perform no Frusetta-esque magic.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 29 Reg: R 50%; D 37%; DS 10%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Mike Briggs (R) not running. Geography: Parts of Fresno, Madera, and Tulare counties.

This district is part of the emerging GOP Central Valley "lock," so the Primary was the whole show. And quite a show it was. Both Steve Samuelian and Larry Willey are conservatives, so the contest lacked the ideological content seen elsewhere. But that didn't stop it becoming one of the state's uglier, more bitter races.

Samuelian, former staffer for popular local Congressman George Radanovich and nephew of GOP icon Karl Samuelian, was the early favorite. Reports of Samuelian's run-in with the law for soliciting a prostitute, however, threw that status into a cocked hat. Willey, a former sheriff's deputy carrying much law-enforcement support, was well-funded and ran a strong race. A couple of weeks before the Primary the contest was considered neck-and-neck. But Samuelian, perhaps showing his long political experience, lapped Willey in the last 10 days and ended up winning by a surprising margin of 12 percent. In a throw-back to what used to be a Republican strength, Samuelian was greatly aided by an effective grass-roots effort.

Not all the wounds from the Primary here have healed, a process that may take some time. But Democrat Richard Martinez need not get excited, this is

straight-ticket Republican territory, and Samuelian will take his Assembly seat come December.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 30 Reg: D 50%; R 37%; DS 10%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dean Florez (D) not running. Geography: Parts of Fresno, Kern, Kings, and Tulare counties.

One of the hottest races in the state will take place in this district, thanks to Democrat Primary voters. Had moderate-conservative farmer Jim Crettol won the Democrat Primary, the GOP would probably not have given this seat a second look. But the winner, by a comfortable margin, was Nicole Parra, the very liberal aide to local Congressman Cal Dooley. That Primary was closely contested most of the way and quite bitter at times. Parra's large victory margin is probably attributable to late missteps by Crettol's campaign. Parra also benefited mightily from massive help from the same left-wing juggernaut that rolled over more moderate Democrats in primaries up and down the state. She is said to be less than shy about proclaiming her liberal views, which *could* become a handicap in this slightly Republican-leaning district.

The GOP nominee is businessman, former teacher Dean Gardner. Once expected to have a tough Primary himself, he coasted to a 2-to-1 victory over the more moderate Jerry Salazar, a government biologist. The pachyderm Primary avoided the kind of vitriol in Parra/Crettol, and Salazar is actively helping Gardner woo the 40 percent of the district's voters who are Hispanic. These voters, who gave strong majorities to the 2000 "defense of marriage" initiative, should be turned off by Parra's in-your-face brand of liberalism, both fiscal and cultural.

The burning question is whether GOP funds will be sufficient to make the 30th a real priority. Republicans must defend the 10th and 15th A.D.s, and the open 26th has better registration numbers. But if Republican coffers still hold any cash for serious campaigns be-

yond those three seats, this district will likely be next in line. Bush beat Gore here by 6 points. And Matt Fong, Chuck Quackenbush, and Bill Jones all carried the district in 1998. Dan Lungren pulled a respectable 43 percent.

It will be interesting to see the giving profile of California business in this district. Nicole Parra is by no stretch of the imagination a "moderate" or "pro-business" Democrat. GOP nominee Dean Gardner ought to be close to the top of the business target list. If the GOP hierarchy targets the district, the only explanation for business staying out will be fear of offending the Democrats' Sacramento machine.

This seat is winnable for both Parties, and the U.S. Postal Service deficit might be covered from the mail in this district alone. Given sufficient Republicans resources, this race will be hand-to-hand combat down to 8 p.m. election night.

TOSS UP

DISTRICT 31 Reg: D 52%; R 35%; DS 10%

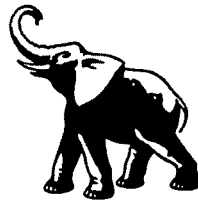
Incumbent: Sarah Reyes (D) Geography: Northern Fresno and most of Tulare County.

Yet another illustration of systemic problems with the GOP infrastructure. Thirty-four percent Republican registration ... 47,000 registered Republicans ... no Republican candidate on the ballot. Sarah Reyes would certainly have been re-elected, even against a strong Republican, but that's not the point. The hyper-partisan Reyes can now spend her time and money helping neighboring Democrats in tight races: Nicole Parra, say, just to pull a name out of the hat.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 32 Reg: R 53%; D 32%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Roy Ashburn (R) termed out. Geography: Most of Kern County and a slice of San Bernardino County's high desert.



**The Democrats will
make Aghazarian,
a good fit for this
still rural, conservative,
Republican-leaning
district, sweat
and fight
for it.**

An ugly GOP Primary battle royal here brought moderates one of their few victories over a conservative. Kevin McCarthy, a top aide to local Congressman Bill Thomas, bested conservative Bakersfield Councilman Mike Maggard. The difference here was Thomas's local machine and clout. Few Kern Countians are neutral about Thomas; those who love him and those who hate him were active in the McCarthy and Maggard camps respectively. The Thomas factor clearly carried the day for McCarthy, whose politics are frankly a bit out of step with a rather conservative GOP base vote here. Nonetheless, he put together a winning effort after all the fussin' and fightin' was over, besting Maggard by a relatively comfortable 7 percent.

As the southern terminus of the GOP's emerging Central Valley "lock," Democrat Michael Shea will not be a factor.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 33 *Reg: R 44%; D 36%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Abel Maldonado (R)
Geography: All of San Luis Obispo County and northern Santa Barbara County.

This loyal Republican seat — Bush carried it by 14 points — will allow Abel Maldonado to spend his time preparing to run for one of the Senates (state or U.S.) in 2004, instead of worrying about re-election. Democrat Lawrence Houlgate is unlikely to surpass Democrat registration.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 34 *Reg: R 48%; D 36%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Phil Wyman (R) is running in A.D. 36. **Geography:** All of Inyo County, rural portions of Kern, San Bernardino, and Tulare counties.

In one of this year's odder developments, this solidly-Republican seat had no Primary contest. Tulare

County Supervisor Bill Maze, unopposed in the Primary, saw his potential Democrat opponent drop out before the March voting. This is another solidly Republican Central Valley district. Bush won 61 percent here in 2000; Lungren beat Davis by nine points. And Maze will be in the Assembly in December.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 35 *Reg: D 44%; R 33%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Hannah-Beth Jackson (D) **Geography:** Southern Santa Barbara County and a slice of coastal Ventura County.

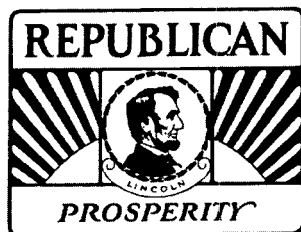
Both liberal Republican Brooks Firestone and moderate Democrat Jack O'Connell have represented his turf. To Hannah-Beth Jackson's relief, redistricting reduced the chances the new, more-dependably Democrat district will swing between Parties for a while.

Jackson's opponent, GOP nominee Bob Pohl, has the kind of resume that should resonate with the self-consciously moderate voters here: former Santa Barbara School Board member, former real estate

investment specialist, and now consultant for underperforming schools. But he faces two difficulties in addition to redistricting on the road to viability as a challenger to Jackson.

First, while the newly-redrawn district has bastions of heavy Republican registration (Montecito, Solvang, Santa Ynez), these Republicans are so "moderate" they seem eager to vote for liberal Democrats as atonement for being Republican.

Second is the more mundane concern of money. The GOP command apparatus has open Republican seats to defend, a newly-drawn open seat to snare (A.D. 26), and at least a couple of Democrat-held seats more vulnerable than this one. Even so, this District has elected Republicans at the local level in the past, and both Quackenbush and Jones carried the district in 1998. So Pohl's task is to show enough local support, savvy, and momentum in September to be considered seriously by Sacramento's pachyderm powers in October. If he



**The emerging Runner
dynasty proved too
much for old warhorse
Wyman (first elected to
the Assembly in 1978,
a 'Prop. 13 Baby'),
and Sharon Runner
ran a well-executed
campaign.**

makes that cut, this district could be in serious play. Jackson is clearly still the favorite, but by no means is a slam dunk.

LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 36 Reg: R 45%; D 37%; DS 13%

Incumbent: Open Seat — George Runner (R) termed out. Geography: The Antelope Valley portion of Los Angeles County, the Victorville area of San Bernardino County.

CPR's pre-Primary analysis called the 36th the location of "a pitched battle between two GOP high desert dynasties": the Wymans and the Runners. The Runners won, by a surprisingly large 11 percent. Hindsight indicates Phil Wyman would have been better served running in the newly-drawn, and, at one time, vacant, 34th A.D., where redistricting placed his Tehachapi home. But Wyman, never one to duck a fight, chose to stay and contest the 36th which contained more of the people he represented over the years.

The emerging Runner dynasty proved too much for old warhorse Wyman (first elected to the Assembly in 1978, a "Prop. 13 Baby"), and Sharon Runner ran a well-executed campaign. She was aided immensely by support from local hero state Senator Pete Knight and a \$200,000 "independent expenditure" campaign against Wyman by the prison guard union (CCPOA). Wyman, in the past, supported private prisons, and the union badly wanted his scalp. They got it.

But for all the heat the Primary generated, precious little ideological difference separated the candidates. Wyman is a graybeard of the California conservative movement. Sharon Runner, who will succeed her husband George in this Assembly seat, is the co-founder, with him, of the Desert Christian School. She should be a reliably conservative GOP Caucus vote. And this is rock-solid GOP country. Democrat Robert Davenport should rest on his davenport rather than waste time trying to change the certain outcome.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 37 Reg: R 46%; D 35%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Tony Strickland (R) Geography: Most of Ventura County, the northwest portion of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County.

Tony Strickland is the prime example of a Republican considered "too conservative" to win by the

experts, but not by the voters. Opposed by liberal Primary challengers, and then Democrat nominees, all repeating the "too conservative to win" mantra every time he has run, Strickland has never lost an election here. Democrats finally decided they had wasted enough money and drew him a comfortable district, now 46-to-35 percent Republican in registration.

Strickland, only 31, can thus spend his time helping elect other Republicans to the Assembly, and figure out where he lands after term limits take him from the Assembly in 2004. Democrat Bruce Thomas won't interrupt those plans.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 38 Reg: R 45%; D 36%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Keith Richman (R) Geography: Simi Valley portion of Ventura County, the far northern parts of the San Fernando Valley in LA County.

This is one of L.A. County's few remaining reliably Republican areas, allowing Keith Richmond the luxury of concentrating on his campaign for mayor of the San Fernando Valley, if Los Angeles voters form that city in November. Richmond's simultaneous candidacy for both Assembly and mayor might give Democrat nominee Thomas some talking points, but not enough votes to make a difference.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 Reg: D 60%; R 20%; DS 15%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Tony Cardenas (D) termed out. Geography: Central, western San Fernando Valley in L.A. County.

City of San Fernando (not the city of San Fernando Valley referred to directly above) Mayor Cindy Montanez was the clear favorite going into the Primary, and her 2-to-1 win over legislative staffer Yolanda Fuentes showed she deserved that status. In what was basically an Hispanic turf battle, the Alaracons (state Senator Richard) beat the Cardenas (this district's termed-out incumbent Tony). Whoever emerged the winner of that blood battle was certain to be the Assemblyman from this heavily Democrat district come December. Republican Ely De La Cruz Ayao, while getting honorable mention in the "longest name" category, will not be mentioned by many voters on November 5.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 40 *Reg: D 49%; R 31%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Bob Hertzberg (D) termed out. Geography: The northwest portion of the San Fernando Valley in L.A. County.

This district in the heart of the San Fernando Valley is perhaps the ultimate symbol of the shredding the far-left gave more centrist Democrats in this year's Primary. The 40th's current incumbent, Robert Hertzberg, was, until a few short months ago, speaker of the Assembly. His anointed successor was his aide, Andrei Cherny. Hertzberg used the prodigious powers of the Speakership to line up high-powered endorsements and bucketsful of cash for Cherny. Additionally, the California business community spent more than \$200,000 in "independent expenditures" to help Cherny. It wasn't enough.

Legislative aide Lloyd Levine, the candidate of the hard-left coalition that brought down Gina Papan (A.D. 19), Rod Diridon (A.D. 22) and so many others, was the easy winner (56-to-44 percent). Levine, an aide to Assemblyman John Longville and son of long-time Democrat consultant Larry Levine, enjoyed an array of local union endorsements to compliment the port-side coalition's efforts.

The Primary was nasty and brutish, but not short. Both candidates started running well before the first of the year. Both candidates were young, articulate, and aggressive. Neither candidate pulled any punches, with charges and counter-charges of low-blows flying almost daily in the campaign's closing weeks. In the end, the former Assembly Speaker, the incumbent, was repudiated by his own voters. His reputation, if not his name, was on the ballot, and he couldn't deliver.

The California business community might learn a lesson: they might as well look for Amelia Earhart, Jimmy Hoffa, and Elvis as search for the elusive "moderate, pro-business" Democrat in the Legislature. If such ever really existed as a force, that force is now shattered. The few hold-overs coming back next year have been thoroughly neutered — and probably thoroughly intimidated — by the Democrat Primary electorate. Business undertook a grand "feeding the alligator" experiment that has failed. The alligators will now turn on them. And business can expect little help from either legislative house's Republican Caucuses, having spent the last three years distancing itself from its former allies there.

A slight chance exists the GOP could benefit from

the Democrat battle's venom, by some reports still flowing at Labor Day. The district has pockets of Republican strength, and GOP nominee Connie Friedman has connections and friends in both Parties. But Republican registration here is only 31 percent, and President Bush managed just 35 percent. If the GOP high-command were rolling in dough they might take a flier here, or at least make some feints to keep the Democrats tied down. But the GOP has several much more attractive opportunities around the state, which make a serious effort here unlikely.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 41 *Reg: D 49%; R 31%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Fran Pavley (D) Geography: A small portion of the southern San Fernando Valley and the coast of western Los Angeles and southern Ventura counties.

Fran Pavley won this seat easily for the first time in 2000, turning back a determined Republican effort that spent nearly \$400,000. The GOP will make no such mistake this year, and Republican Michael Wissot's November vote total will be little more than his Party's 31 percent registration.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 42 *Reg: D 55%; R 23%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Paul Koretz (D) Geography: Most of the Santa Monica Mountains area of L.A. County.

From wealthy Los Feliz and Toluca Lake on the east to wealthy Bel Air and Pacific Highlands on the west, this district is very rich and very Democrat. It is one of the state's few districts where President Bush actually lagged behind GOP registration, receiving only 21 percent, so freshman Paul Koretz is safe as can be. Republican Jeffrey Bissiri is not likely to eclipse Bush's mark by much.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 43 *Reg: D 45%; R 33%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Dario Frommer (D) Geography: Most of the city of Glendale, all of the city of Burbank, and the North Hollywood and Eagle Rock portions of Los Angeles.

Ten years ago, not a single Democrat represented

this territory at any level of partisan government. Today, not a single Republican does so. Demographic changes and astute Democrat map-drawing helped transform this GOP turf into a Democrat bastion. Dario Frommer is safe here, especially this year. The district retains enough remnants of old Republican strength to allow the GOP to make a realistic run when circumstances are right. Unfortunately for GOP nominee Ingrid Geyer, this is not the year.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 44 *Reg: D 46%; R 34%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Carol Liu (D) Geography: Eastern San Gabriel Valley, including the cities of Arcadia, Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Temple City in L.A. County.

Most of what was said above about A.D. 43 also applies here. The difference is that circumstances might exist that tempt Republicans to put this district into play. The 44th has slightly more loyal GOP registration than the 43rd. It also has precincts that give Republican candidates 75 percent of the vote (in La Canada-Flintridge, Arcadia, and a few enclaves of Pasadena). The GOP recruited an exceptionally attractive candidate, L.A. County Deputy D.A. Dan O'Connell, whose specialty is prosecuting hate-crimes. And in the Primary, only 200 more Democrats than Republicans went to the polls district-wide.

This should be, and probably was, a wake-up call for Democrat freshman incumbent Carol Liu. She proved her political abilities in 2000, when she won a tough four-way Primary, than easily won the general against a semi-celebrity (Susan Carpenter-McMillan of Paula Jones fame) on the Republican ticket. Perhaps most important, Liu has the ability to self-finance in a pinch. She put \$500,000 of her own money into the race in 2000.

This district may be too tempting of a target for the GOP apparatus to resist making at least some thrusts into. Should they show signs of paying off, this seat could see full-blown warfare through the fall. That's

still unlikely, given Liu's moxie and deep pockets. But this district bears watching.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT



Carol Liu proved her political abilities in 2000, when she won a tough four-way Primary, than easily won the general against a semi-celebrity (Susan Carpenter-McMillan of Paula Jones fame).

DISTRICT 45 *Reg: D 60%; R 17%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Jackie Goldberg (D) Geography: Hollywood and nearby areas of Los Angeles.

The 45th, with its 16 percent Republican registration is a perfect home for Jackie Goldberg, an acerbic, outspoken member of the Democrat Caucus's left-most fringe. In 2000, the 45th's voters showed their approval, giving her 95 percent of their votes. Facing no Republican and only a Libertarian opponent in November, she stands to repeat that near-unanimous victory.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 46 *Reg: D 69%; R 12%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Gil Cedillo (D) termed out. Geography: Central and eastern Los Angeles with the cities of Huntington Park and Maywood in L.A. County.

The Primary here was an Hispanic turf-war between what can loosely be called the Villaraigosa/Cedillo and the Royball-Allard/Becerra factions. The Villaraigosa/Cedillo's won, behind the candidacy of L.A. School District Legislative Advocate Fabian Nunez. He handily defeated (57-to-32 percent) the Royball-Allard/Becerra standard bearer, Pedro Cedillo, a staffer for 33rd District Congresswoman Lucille Royball-Allard.

As with most family battles, this one became heated and left scars, which may give GOP nominee Manny Aldana, Jr., a fighting chance to beat Dan Lungren's 10 percent showing here in 1998 — or even George Bush's 12 percent in 2000.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 47 *Reg: D 67%; R 14%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Herb Wesson (D) Geography: Culver City and surrounding areas of Los Angeles.

Term limits will force Assembly Speaker Herb Wesson out of office in 2004. He need not sweat this last reelection effort. A Medal of Valor with Oak Leaf Cluster, though, should go to the GOP's Keith Clemens, carrying the fight for the 13 percent of voters registered Republicans.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 48 Reg: D 73%; R 9%; DS 12%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Rod Wright (D) termed out. Geography: West-central Los Angeles.

Long time L.A. City Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas was expected to have an easy Primary in the 48th A.D., but supervisorial aide Mike Davis had other ideas.

Thomas put together early cash and endorsements. But Davis, not intimidated, came on strong at the end, aided greatly by the celebrity value of Magic Johnson, who spent the last several weeks actively campaigning for Davis on a daily basis. The result was a Ridley-Thomas 1,500-vote squeaker.

He need fear no such close fall race from Gerard Robinson, the GOP nominee in this district that gave

George Bush 8 percent in 2000. But, inasmuch as I have excoriated other GOP infrastructures for failing to field candidates in much better districts, I also tip the hat to the L.A. County GOP for finding brave souls like Robinson and the 47th's Keith Clemens, to show the flag at least.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 49 Reg: D 48%; R 27%; DS 20%

Incumbent: Judy Chu (D) Geography: Southern San Gabriel Valley, including El Monte, Alhambra, Monterey Park, Rosemead, and San Gabriel.

Judy Chu, the first Asian to represent this area in the Legislature, won't be the last, but she will retire undefeated in 2008 when term limits force her out. Republican George Shen could run a respectable race — statewide GOP candidates still routinely pull in the low 40s here. And the district's socially conservative major ethnic groups — Latino and Asian — offer the GOP future promise.

Additionally, when Chu either retires or runs for another office, a bruising Asian-Latino Democrat Primary battle could erupt. Such prospects, however, are for future Republicans to chew on.

SAFE DEMOCRAT



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DISTRICT 50 *Reg: D 63%; R 18%; DS 13%*
Incumbent: Marco Firebaugh (D) Geography: Southeastern L.A. County.

Latinos now comprise 57 percent of this district's registered voters, and Marco Firebaugh represents them well. Republican Gladys Miller won't change that November 5.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 51 *Reg: D 65%; R 17%; DS 13%*
Incumbent: Jerome Horton (D) Geography: Southwestern L.A. County, including the cities of Inglewood, Hawthorne, Gardena, and Lawndale.

Long the stomping grounds of bombastic, proudly profane Dick Floyd, this fiercely loyal, blue-collar Democrat district is now represented by former Inglewood City Councilman Jerome Horton, a CPA in real life. Republican Cliff McClain, working with 17 percent GOP registration, wins kudos at least for running, but the incumbent is in no danger here. Horton will *not* hear a who, but rather a resounding yes, on election day.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 52 *Reg: D 74%; R 8%; DS 10%*
Incumbent: Open Seat — Carl Washington (D) termed out. Geography: All of Paramount, south-central Los Angeles, and northern Long Beach.

CPR's pre-Primary analysis said "Old soldiers may never die, but at least they fade away. Not so old politicians, at least not here, in California's least Republican legislative district." Democrat Primary voters agreed, giving former Assemblyman, former state Senator, former Congressman, and former Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally 52 percent of the vote in a five-way Primary. He even beat his closest opponent better than 2-to-1, and could up that margin by a factor of 10 over Republican Mark Iles in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 53 *Reg: D 42%; R 36%; DS 17%*
Incumbent: George Nakano (D) Geography: Beach cities El Segundo, Hermosa Beach, and Redondo Beach, most of Torrance and the Venice section of Los Angeles.

Like S.D. 28, this L.A. County South Bay district used to be solid GOP turf, and appears to be trending toward solid Democrat turf, though not there yet. Incumbent George Nakano has won here twice easily, and signs point to a repeat this year.

Yet any district with 35 percent Republican registration (only 18,000 fewer voters than the Democrats' 41 percent) won't be written off by GOP planners. Too many other, better opportunities for Republican cash may exist this year for GOP nominee Linda Wilson to hope to be officially "targeted." But President Bush did win 42 percent of the vote here, and both Quackenbush and Jones carried the district in 1998. Even Dan Lungren's 39 percent was among his highest showings in L.A. County, testimony to the loyalty of the GOP base.

As a swing district (and given the uncertainty of developments in other races), the 53rd remains in play, but with a strong pro-incumbent bias. Come 2004, though, when this seat opens, look for all-out warfare.

LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 54 *Reg: D 44%; R 36%; DS 14%*
Incumbent: Allen Lowenthal (D) Geography: Most of Long Beach, the San Pedro area of Los Angeles, and Palos Verdes.

The 54th has changed partisan hands three times in 10 years and remains competitive. Additionally, a Primary that saw GOP nominee Cesar Castellanos receive nearly 1,500 votes more than incumbent Alan Lowenthal shot this district to the top of both Parties' "watch" list.

Lowenthal advantages are being a two-term incumbent, having a nice stockpile of cash, and membership in a Democrat Assembly Caucus with far more cash than their GOP opponents. Castellanos speaks fluent Spanish, and the district's 12 percent of registered voters who are Hispanic could be key in a close race. He also has Lowenthal's voting record, which is several steps to the left of this closely-balanced district's average voter. And he has the district's Palos Verdes Peninsula portions that are heavily Republican and vote that way, up and down the ticket.

The question is: are these factors enough to interest seriously the Sacramento GOP brain trust? If they are, Lowenthal could have a battle on his hands, like his 1998 three percent victory. If not, he will likely coast to a repeat of his 20-point win in 2000. Only time — and GOP Assembly fortunes elsewhere — will answer the

question. In the meantime, the district is "in play."

LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 55 *Reg: D 56%; R 25%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Jenny Oropeza (D) **Geography:** North Long Beach, cities of Carson and Lakewood, the "Harbor Corridor" section of Los Angeles.

Former Long Beach Councilwoman Jenny Oropeza won a tough 2000 Primary when this was an open seat. That would be her last difficult election here, even had Republicans fielded a candidate.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 56 *Reg: D 52%; R 29%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Sally Havice (D) **running for Congress.** **Geography:** Southeast Los Angeles County, including the cities of Norwalk, Cerritos, and Whittier, and the northern Orange County city of Buena Park.

Yet another patch of once-solid GOP turf turned Democrat friendly *via* demographic change and map-making legerdemain. With slightly different boundaries, the 56th changed partisan hand three times during the '90s. That was then, however, this is now — and the 56th's "now" version is solidly Democrat.

Norwalk City Councilman Rudy Bermudez carried into the Primary a slew of endorsements, including Assembly Speaker Hertzberg's and incumbent Havice's, a ton of cash, and strong labor support — enough to provide a comfortable 19-percent win over his closest challenger in a three-way Primary.

Republican John Brantuk may be an energetic campaigner, but 29 percent GOP registration gives him no chance to throw his Democrat opponent into a Bermudez triangle of a tough race in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 57 *Reg: D 52%; R 20%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Ed Chavez (D) **Geography:** East San Gabriel Valley cities of Azusa, Baldwin Park, Covina, La Puente, and West Covina in L.A. County.

Former La Puente Mayor and current incumbent Ed

Chavez has a solid lock on this gaggle of small, San Gabriel Valley municipalities. Republican Anne Moll has small chance of mollifying their loyal Democrat voters.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 58 *Reg: D 55%; R 27%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Thomas Calderon (D) **running for Insurance Commissioner.** **Geography:** Most of the city of East Los Angeles and the eastern L.A. County cities of Downey, Montebello, Pico Rivera, and Whittier.

This is one of the few districts in the state that saw a higher Democrat Primary turnout than Republican, fueled mainly by a tightly-contested Democrat assembly race. This is also the one district where the state's business community and its allies came out on top contesting the liberal juggernaut that swept most other Democrat Primaries.

The winner by a close, but comfortable, five percent was Ronald Calderon, sibling to current incumbent Thomas and former state Senator Chuck. The leftish loser was former state Democrat Party Vice Chairman Charles Fuentes. Victor Ronald will extend

the streak of Calderon representation of this turf to nearly its third decade. Republican Dave Butler has a few pockets of GOP strength to play to, but *too* few to hear the voters say "the Butler did it" on election day.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 59 *Reg: R 48%; D 35%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Dennis Mountjoy (R) **Geography:** High desert cities of Apple Valley and Hesperia in San Bernardino County, San Gabriel Valley cities of Claremont, Glendora, La Verne, Duarte, Sierra Madre, and San Dimas in L.A. County.

The newly-redrawn, Republican-friendly 59th gives a respite to Dennis Mountjoy, son of former Assemblyman and Senator Dick Mountjoy. Mountjoy had tough, sometimes bitter elections in both the Primary and general in 2000. The Democrats, giving their best shot and failing to dent him, okayed fattening up GOP registration, which now approaches 48 percent, 10 points higher than the district Mountjoy won last go 'round. These are loyal Republican San Gabriel Mountain foothills voters. Every statewide GOP candidate, including



Dan Lungren, carried the district in '98. Democrat Patrick Smith won't change those allegiances.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 60 *Reg: R 49%; D 32%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Robert Pacheco (R) Geography: East Los Angeles County cities of La Mirada, La Habra Heights, Diamond Bar, and Walnut, north Orange County cities of Orange and Yorba Linda.

The state's new district lines made Former Walnut City Councilman Robert Pacheco one happy camper. Map makers moved his seat into Orange County, changing what had been a competitive (and deteriorating) Republican seat into a safe GOP bastion. Termed out in 2004, he'll have little time to enjoy his new security, but can at least cruise through this election. Democrat Adrian Martinez will be no factor.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 61 *Reg: D 50%; R 32%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Gloria Negrete-McLeod (D) Geography: East Los Angeles County city of Pomona, west San Bernardino County cities of Chino, Montclair, and Ontario.

Redistricting made what had been a highly competitive district into a safe haven for the Legislature's only great grandmother. This seat had elected Republicans in the recent past, and the GOP put a scare into current incumbent Gloria Negrete-McLeod when she first won the seat in 2000. So the map makers worked their magic and eliminated any chance of a Republican repeat. GOP nominee Matt Munson might pull his Party's registration, or even a bit more, but, realistically, his expectations top out in the mid-30s.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 62 *Reg: D 58%; R 27%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: John Longville (D) Geography: Western San Bernardino County cities of Fontana, Rialto, Colton, and San Bernardino.

One benefit of heading the legislative committee in charge of drawing new districts is that you usually get a really great one. John Longville found himself in just such a position last year, and used it to full advantage. When term limits force him to leave in 2004 the dis-

trict will be likely to elect an Hispanic. No matter how hard Republican Ed Scott campaigns here, the Assembly will remain "Scott free" come November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 63 *Reg: R 46%; D 38%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Bill Leonard (R) termed out. Geography: Urbanized western portions of Riverside and San Bernardino counties.

Just as the amalgam of big business groups that tried to resuscitate liberals (as opposed to left-wingers) in Democrat Primaries got their clock cleaned, so too did the New Majority PAC (a group of Orange County fat cats) get shut-out in its attempt to elect and nurture liberal Republicans. Rancho Cucamonga Councilman Bob Dutton, the conservative in the race, benefited from long-time family GOP connections, as well as endorsements by current incumbent and local hero Bill Leonard, Congressmen David Dreier and Gary Miller, and the Howard Jarvis Taxpayer's Association. That combination was going to be hard to beat in this conservative-oriented, safe Republican seat.

Redlands City Councilwoman Susan Pepler gave it a game try, supported by Assemblyman Russ Bogh, Congressman Jerry Lewis, local public employee unions, and the aforementioned New Majority PAC. In the end, Dutton's hard-charging campaign, coupled with his endorsements and a conservatism that is simply a closer fit with the GOP base vote than is Pepler's ideology, gave him a fairly comfortable seven percent victory.

Everyone has kissed and made up since the Primary, and even had they not, these are loyal Republican voters but will top out there.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 64 *Reg: R 49%; D 35%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Rod Pacheco (R) termed out. Geography: Riverside County communities of Moreno Valley, Palm Desert, most of the city of Riverside, and half the city of Moreno Valley.

One of the state's most convoluted primaries produced one of its more surprising results. Take a deep breath and try to follow this.

Riverside businessman Ray Horspool entered the

Primary the clear favorite as a solid conservative endorsed by local Senator Ray Haynes, Assemblyman Dennis Hollingsworth, and most of the anti-tax, pro-gun volunteer conservative GOP infrastructure. Riverside public affairs executive Lou Monville ran as a moderate, endorsed by current incumbent Rod Pacheco and the "Democrat lite" faction of the local GOP apparatus.

Six weeks before the election, Monville supporters succeeded in having the San Bernardino County District Attorney invalidate Horspool's registration, which resulted in the county Registrar removing him from the ballot. This had been a bitter Primary anyway, but the Monville tactics struck a sour note among rank-and-file GOP voters not aligned with either candidate. They saw the Monville maneuver as inherently unfair.

The beneficiary was a third candidate, retired CHP Officer John Benoit. *CPR's* pre-Primary issue said "the ultimate beneficiary might not be Lou Monville, but John Benoit conservatives might throw their support to him, preferring to select their Republican nominee at the ballot box rather than seeing him chosen for them in a courtroom. Benoit has sufficient funding to pick up the pieces if circumstances call for it."

That is exactly what happened. Horspool's supporters joined Benoit's campaign *en masse*, helping Benoit trounce Monville 55-to-45 percent in March. There is still bad blood here, but it is between the Horspools and the Monvilles, with little of it touching Benoit. He will win easily over Democrat Robert Melsh.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 65 Reg: R 48%; D 36%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Scott Bogh (R) Geography: Central San Bernardino and Riverside counties including the cities of Moreno Valley, Yucaipa, Twentynine Palms, Banning, Beaumont, Hemet, and San Jacinto.

Rich retirees and conservative, middle class families make this district a safe haven for Scott Bogh. Democrat Darrel Scholes will founder on this district's conservative shoals in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 66 Reg: R 52%; D 30%; DS 13%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dennis Hollingsworth (R)

running for state Senate. Geography: Southwest Riverside County, north San Diego County including the communities of Fallbrook, Temecula, Murrieta, Lake Elsinore, and a portion of Riverside.

Conservative rising star Dennis Hollingsworth ran for the state Senate (S.D. 36), paving the way for long-time conservative leader Ray Haynes to move from the Senate back to what is basically the district that elected him to the Legislature in 1992. On this rock-solid GOP turf, Democrat David Brostrom will do well to match Gore's 38 percent.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 67 Reg: R 48%; D 33%; DS 15%

Incumbent: Tom Harman (R) Geography: Northern and coastal Orange County.

If the New Majority PAC had its way, all GOP office holders would be like Tom Harman: self consciously "moderate," at great pains not to seem unreasonably "strident," and certainly not believing in any issue or idea strongly enough actually to make a fuss about it. That, after all, would be *gauche*, and simply isn't done, don't you know, at the yacht club.

Republican voters statewide, however, don't share the Harman/New Majority view, as evidenced by the PAC's near-zero Primary batting average. Harman, and fellow Orange County moderate Lynn Daucher, are about all the New Majority has to show for the hundreds of thousands of dollars it has spent the last couple of cycles. And even Harman and Daucher would have come up losers but for the bizarre — and now unconstitutional — "open Primary" rules of 2000 that allowed Democrats to choose Republican nominees.

Luckily for Harman, the GOP base vote here is a loyal bloc, so Harman has safe sailing 'til term limits oust him in 2006. At that point, the selection of Harman's successor will be a strictly Republicans-only affair, virtually guaranteeing a more conservative occupant for this seat. Democrat William Orton will receive some GOP protest votes, but too few to make Harman sweat.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 68 Reg: R 44%; D 34%; DS 16%

Incumbent: Ken Maddox (R) Geography: The central Orange County cities of Costa Mesa, Garden

Grove, Anaheim, Fountain Valley, and Westminster.

Redistricting transformed Ken Maddox's theretofore slightly marginal seat into steadfast GOP territory, moving Democrats into A.D. 69 to bolster Lou Correa, so Maddox will have no trouble securing his third Assembly term. This seat will be open in 2004, and should see an intense, ideologically-driven Primary fight. This year, Democrat Al Snook has no chance of snookering voters into electing a Democrat.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 69 *Reg: D 51%; R 31%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Lou Correa (D) Geography: Central Orange County cities of Anaheim, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana.

Democrat map makers (*see* A.D. 68, above) pulled every possible loyal Democrat precinct into the 69th. That probably made it safe for Lou Correa, as he seeks his last Assembly term. But this seat opens up in 2004, giving Republicans a shot at reclaiming a district they held until '98. Republican Reuben Ross may run an energetic campaign this year, even if just to warm up for '04.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 70 *Reg: R 52%; D 28%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: John Campbell (R) Geography: Southern Orange County coast including the cities of Irvine, Newport Beach, Tustin, and Lake Forest.

Wealthy Republicans here are different from Wealthy Republicans in the San Francisco Bay Area. These GOP voters seem not a bit guilt-ridden about either their money or their Party affiliation. The result is a solidly conservative and loyally Republican district, well-represented by John Campbell. Democrat John Kane will inspire no mutiny among the voters in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 71 *Reg: R 55%; D 28%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Bill Campbell (R) termed out. Geography: Western Orange County cities of

Mission Viejo, Santa Margarita, and Orange, western Riverside County cities of Corona and Norco.

In one of the Primary season's more unusual developments, the 71st, one of the state's most solidly Republican seats, like A.D. 34, saw an uncontested Primary. Orange County Supervisor Todd Spitzer parlayed a huge bankroll and a slew of endorsements from local GOP heavyweights into a TKO: no other Republican filed.

He will breeze into office come November, as Democrat Beatrice Foster will get the deep freeze treatment from these loyal Republican voters.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 72 *Reg: R 49%; D 33%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Lynn Daucher (R) Geography: Northeastern Orange County cities of Anaheim, Brea, Fullerton, Orange, Placentia, and Yorba Linda.

Lynn Daucher, like Tom Harman, would not hold office except for a Blanche Dubois act in 2000: relying on the kindness of strangers, *i.e.*, Democrats, who voted in the Republican Primary, giving her the victory. Like Harman, she is safe in this loyal GOP seat, and like Harman she terms out in 2006. Also like Harman, given a genuinely Republican 2006 Primary, she will almost certainly be succeeded by a more conservative member.

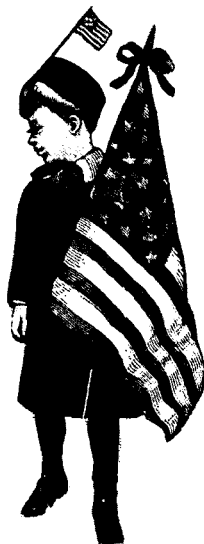
SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 73 *Reg: R 51%; D 28%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Pat Bates (R) Geography: Coastal areas of south Orange and north San Diego counties.

Former Laguna Niguel Mayor and Councilwoman Pat Bates represents one of California's more beautiful stretches Pacific coast, which also happens to be home to some of California's most loyal Republican voters. They gave Bush a 20 percent margin over Gore in 2000, and Lungren a 13 percent win over Davis in '98. As with Ken Maddox's 68th, the 73rd will see an intense ideological struggle in 2004, when term limits open the seat.

But for now, all is pacific along the coast. Democrat



Kathleen Calzada will make no waves November 5.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 74 *Reg: R 47%; D 30%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Mark Wyland (R) Geography: North San Diego County communities of Carlsbad, Escondido, Encinitas, San Marcos, and Vista.

The 74th saw a tough, expensive, ideologically-driven 2000 Primary fight, won by local businessman Mark Wyland. He can now coast in this coastal district, where the GOP base is loyal enough to have given Lungren a 10 percent victory margin and Bush one of 15 percent. Democrat John Herrera will get a seat on the local Central Committee, but not in the Legislature.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 75 *Reg: R 47%; D 29%, DS 19%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Charlene Zettel (R) running for state Senate. Geography: Northern portion of San Diego, San Diego County communities of Escondido and Poway.

A slam, bam, tightly-contested Primary resulted in a slam, bam, tight-as-could-be finish in the 75th. The top three vote-getters were separated by less than 1,800 votes. Finishing first with 30 percent was George Plescia, chief of staff to Senator Bill Morrow, and, like his boss, a strong conservative. Second place, with 27 percent, went to Escondido Mayor Lori Pfeiler, the most liberal of the five candidates. Former San Diego County Sheriff Jim Roache, also a solid conservative, finished a close third at 25 percent. Technology consultant Greg Stein, who ran on a mainly — though not exclusively — conservative platform, finished fourth with 10 percent

According to CPR's pre-Primary analysis, "A much closer outcome [than actually occurred], however, is probable, and if the conservative vote is widely spread between Plescia, Roach, and Stein, Pfeiler could put this seat in the liberal column with a 30 percent plurality." The mayor came within 1,267 votes of doing just that. Plescia won because he was seen as the conservative with the best chance to win by just enough of the GOP conservative base. Conservative candidates received 65 percent of the votes, yet local Republicans almost found them-

selves represented by a liberal. A lesson in that, one might think.

But having emerged victorious, Plescia can look forward to a slam dunk, not slam-bam, general election. Democrat Connie Witt will find the voters witless on election day.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 76 *Reg: D 40%, R 34%; DS 19%*

Incumbent: Christine Kehoe (D) Geography: Most of San Diego.

While the liberal voting habits of much of the 76th's Decline-to-State registration gives this district a distinctly Democrat tilt, a Democrat registration number this low will always draw covetous Republican eyes. Former San Diego Councilwoman Christine Kehoe easily won what was initially thought to be a tough race in 2000, when this was an open seat.

The right set of circumstances — a strong top of the ticket GOP performance coupled with a strong local candidate — could put this seat in play. The Primary returns supply supporting evidence: Kehoe received only 3,000 more votes than her GOP opponent, Bob Divine. Divine is not considered a particularly strong candidate, and Kehoe is clearly the favorite, but the district itself carries enough possibilities that the GOP will keep an eye on developments here.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 77 *Reg: R 47%; D 31%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Jay LaSuer (R) Geography: South and east San Diego County.

Former San Diego Policeman Jay La Suer won a knockdown, drag-out Primary brawl in 2000 when this was an open seat. No such fisticuffs erupted this year. Loyal Republicans and conservative Democrats will "back the badge." November voters will leave Democrat Sarah Lowery in a salty mood.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 78 *Reg: D 42%; R 36%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Howard Wayne (D) termed out. Geography: About a quarter of San Diego and the cities of Chula Vista and Lemon Grove.

The 78th's Democrat Primary was great for political

junkies who enjoy mean, nasty, personal grudge matches. And those feelings extended beyond the main combatants — two of the Primary's main candidates — trial lawyer Tim Cohelan and former Gray Davis aide Vincent Hall. You see Cohelan is also Senator John Burton's nephew, and as you might have heard, a slight spat (of Hiroshima proportions) continues to exist between Burton and Davis.

The Primary played out in interesting ways, with Cohelan and Hall both campaigning as *my* liberal candidates, bashing each other relentlessly. This opened the door for a third candidate to compete seriously, San Diego Councilman George Stevens. In fact, as reported in *CPR's* pre-Primary edition, Stevens led for much of the Primary campaign. However, Sacramento's Democrat powers decided Stevens's pro-life and other, non-leftist positions gave him no place in their Party, so they engineered a late shift to Hall, who ended up beating Stevens by 1,000 votes. You didn't read about this heavy-handed Democrat power-play to keep even one pro-life vote from their Caucus? You didn't read anguished media editorials about the lack of "diversity" among Sacramento Democrats? Go figure.

All this Democrat sound and fury has given GOP nominee Chula Vista Mayor Shirley Horton an opening to contest this seat seriously, which, at most, only leans Democrat anyway. Horton is an attractive, articulate candidate. The local San Diego GOP has committed to an all-out funding effort in this district, which, in turn, has caught the eye of the Sacramento GOP apparatus. Look for heavy spending and hot campaigning in the fall. Democrat Primary scars remain, and, though this is a "moderate" district by most accounts, donkey nominee Hall has distinctly left-of-center views. In addition, his former boss Davis may not be an asset come election day.

TOSS UP

DISTRICT 79 Reg: D 47%; R 31%; DS 16%

Incumbent: Juan Vargas (D) Geography: San Diego County's far southern coast to the Mexican border.

With a Latino voting base of 40 percent, this district provides Juan Vargas a comfortable home. Republican Mark Fast won't be nearly quick enough to upset that.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 80 Reg: D 46%; R 38%; DS 13%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dave Kelly (R) termed

out. Geography: Imperial County, Riverside County's east portion.

The 80th provided two interesting primaries, and promises a tightly contested race in the fall. Former Coachella School Board member Joey Acuna, Jr., ended up easily winning what had been expected to be a tough Democrat Primary against Cathedral City Councilman Gregory Pettis (68-to-22 percent). Acuna had previously run underfunded but respectable campaigns against Jim Battin and Dave Kelley, and this may have convinced the left-wing Democrat alliance, victorious in so many other races, to stay out of this one. Acuna is no conservative, but Pettis was much further left, and fit the profile of candidates supported by the alliance elsewhere. The district's 35 percent Hispanic registration may also have been a factor in the leftists' decision.

Republican Senator Jim Battin's Legislative Aide Bonnie Garcia was an equally easy winner. She crushed La Quinta Mayor John Pena 60-to-26 percent, and emerged from the Primary in no worse than a tie with Acuna. Both Parties have pockets of strength in this district and both candidates have a loyal voting base to appeal to. Both Parties place the 80th near the top of their target lists, so the fall campaign will be a no-holds-barred affair. The GOP sees this as a chance (perhaps along with C.D. 51) to score a breakthrough with the San Diego Hispanic communities. Republican candidates running in both districts are attractive, articulate, conservative, Hispanic women. The question for the GOP may come down to finances and prioritizing opportunities around the state.

Incumbent Dave Kelley decided to retire, rather than spend two more years as the most reliable Democrat vote in the GOP Assembly Caucus. But it is a GOP seat, at least on paper, so Party leaders see it as a "defend" situation and will battle fiercely for it. But if A.D.s 17 or 26 offer greener pastures come mid-October, tough decisions may have to be made.

The Democrats view the 80th as a prime "take-away" opportunity, and, unlike the GOP, need not be particularly careful in setting spending priorities. The district has a 47-to-35 percent Democrat registration edge, so Acuna certainly starts the fall campaign with advantages. But Republican Garcia has shown herself to be a strong candidate and able fund-raiser in her own right. This race will be fascinating to watch, and should remain close to 8 p.m., election night.

TOSS-UP

California Senate

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO

MEMBER, CPR EDITORIAL BOARD

DISTRICT 2 *Registration: D 50%; R 29%; DS 14%*
Incumbent: Wes Chesbro (D); *Geography: All or part of Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, Solano & Sonoma counties.*

Republicans used to be able to hold their own — and with some regularity actually win — in these north coast and wine-country districts. Don Clausen represented the area in Congress throughout the '60s and '70s, while Don Sebastiani and Bev Hansen were sent to the Assembly through the 1980s.

But that was then, and this is now. Senate District 2 is only 49 percent Democrat, but is 14 percent “Decline To State” — with most such voters DTS because they think the Democrats aren’t liberal enough! To wit, Ralph Nader received 8 percent of the vote for president in 2000.

That lingering after-taste you’re detecting is not a heady cabernet or well-behaved Merlot. Rather it is a rock-solid Democrat district, that Wes Chesbro will hold with considerably more ease than his 1998 margin of 51 to 42 percent over wine scion John Jordan. Republican Peggy Redfearn, despite her felicitous last name for this *tres*-Green district, will plant no roots in the state Senate.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 4 *Reg: R 45%; D 36%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Maurice Johannessen (R) termed out. *Geography: All or parts of Butte, Colusa, Del Norte, Glenn, Nevada, Placer, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Yuba counties.*

One of the state’s most interesting primaries occurred in this district this year, and it ended up being a morality play. The moral was “don’t be the deciding Republican vote for a Gray Davis budget that increases taxes.” That’s just what Assemblyman Dick Dickerson was last year, over the vociferous objections of the Assembly GOP leadership. The result, in breathtakingly swift order, was a changing of district lines to include Assemblyman Sam Aanestad’s base of Grass Valley, and a *jihad* among Dickerson’s Assembly pachyderm colleagues to make of him an object lesson.

They succeeded thoroughly, and Dickerson was buried, 57 to 43 percent, in the GOP Primary. Lots of “independent expenditure” money on both sides of this contest basically balanced out. The outcome was no great surprise, given Sacramento Valley Republicans’ conservative instincts. It was a victory for the GOP’s conservative infrastructure. Judging by Assembly Republicans’ greater-than-usual discipline on this year’s budget — lasting all the way to the Labor

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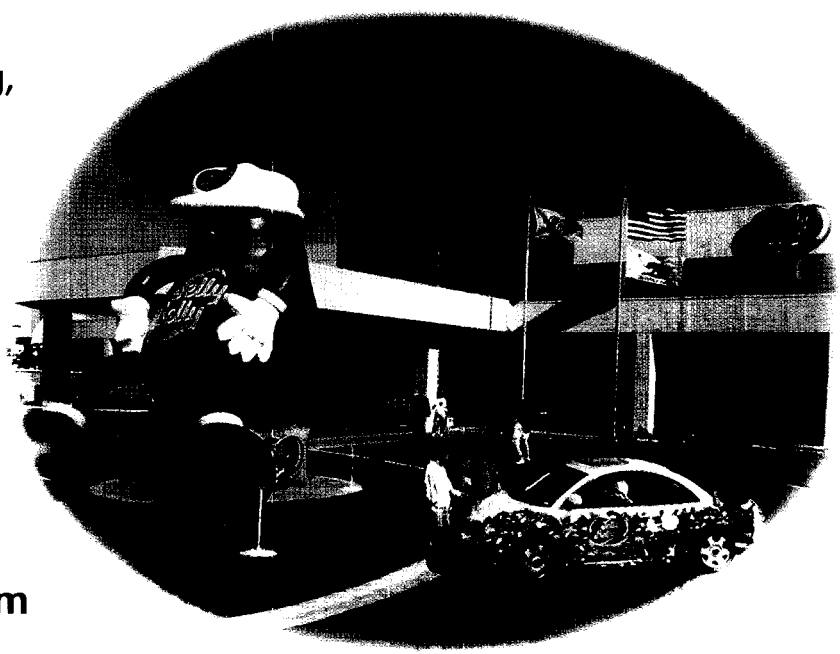
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Day weekend — the point got across and stuck.

Democrat Marianne Bopp Smith will not make Anastad breath hard to keep this seat in the GOP column in the fall.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 6 Reg: D 51%; R 30%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Deborah Ortiz (D)
Geography: The entire cities of Citrus Heights & Sacramento; part of the city of Elk Grove and several communities in un-incorporated parts of Sacramento County.



12th District

Salinas businessman

**Jeff Denham's easy
GOP win was somewhat
surprising over
three-term Assemblyman
Peter Frusetta.**

Only four years ago, this district was the scene of a closely-fought, closely-watched contest between then-Assemblywoman Deborah Ortiz and Chris Quackenbush, wife of former Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush. Lots of water under the bridge, along with a few nips and tucks by Democrat map makers, have given now-Senator Ortiz a safe district — particularly so this year because no Republican is filed, which indicates a slip-up somewhere in the usually reliable Sacramento County Republican apparatus.

This 6th Senate District demonstrates Republican weakness at a local level. Although not winnable for the GOP this year, it still includes 30 percent Republican registration and George Bush received 40 percent here in 2000, all of which means Republicans should have fielded a candidate.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 8 Reg: D 53%; DS 22%; R 22%

Incumbent: Jackie Speier (D) **Geography:** Western and Southern San Francisco and all but the southeastern portion of San Mateo county.

CPR's pre-Primary analysis reported that Republicans were 2,929 votes away from slipping behind Decline-To-State as a political force in this district. We can now report that — due to the San Francisco GOP's robust health — "DTS" is now officially the 8th Senate District's second largest "Party" by a margin of 607 votes. Democrat Jackie Speier will have no trouble dispatching brave GOP soldier-nominee Dennis Zell.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 10 Reg: D 51%; R 27%; DS 18%

Incumbent: Liz Figueroa (D) **Geography:** Southern Alameda and northeastern Santa Clara county.

Bush 41 was president the last time any Republican candidate received more than 40 percent of the vote in what is now California's 10th Senate District. Republican James Gunther won't break that string this year. Term limits will hit incumbent Liz Figueroa in 2006. Whispers are she is casting covetous eyes on nearby Congressional seats. If true, that could make for an interesting Demo-Party Primary next time around.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 12 Reg: D 46%; R 39%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dick Monteith (R), termed out. **Geography:** Madera, Merced, Monterey, San Benito, and Stanislaus counties.

This, by far, is California's most competitive Senate seat up this year. In fact, this patch of Central Valley real estate will be a great place for political junkies. Three other hotly-contested races overlap the 12th Senate District: for Congress, Monteith/Cardoza (C.D. 18) and, for Assembly, Aghazarian/Hallinan (A.D. 26) and McCabe/Matthews (A.D. 17). The fur — and the money — will fly.

Former Democrat Assemblyman Rusty Areias had a predictably easy Primary win. But Salinas GOP businessman Jeff Denham's easy win was somewhat surprising, considering that his opponent was three-term Assemblyman Peter Frusetta. Areias probably starts with more residual name I.D., but that may be balanced by his losing state Senate and Controller campaigns. Might he have worn out his welcome?

Denham ran a reasonably strong race in 2000 in an adjacent, much more Democrat district. Also, he and his Hispanic wife Sonia are fluent in Spanish, an additional plus in a 29 percent Latino registration district.

This is a classic swing district with just a slight tilt toward the Democrats. Both Quackenbush and Bill Jones won here in 1998. President Bush received 46 percent in 2000. The tale will be told by a combination of money, smart strategy, and plain hard work. This could be one of the state's few districts where an old-fashioned "ground game" — getting your voters to the polls — provides the winning margin. Tons of dough will be

spent here; it should be fun to watch.

TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 14 *Reg: R 49%; D 37%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Chuck Poochigian (R). **Geography:** The Central Valley counties of Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, and Tuolumne.

Though the 14th's registration is reasonably close, this is a *very* conservative district. Dan Lungren beat Gray Davis here by 14 points in 1998. Every other Republican state-wide candidate did at least that well. Chuck Poochigian would be unassailable, even if the Democrats had bothered to field a candidate.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 *Reg: D 52%; R 34%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Jim Costa (D) **termed out.** **Geography:** The western San Joaquin Valley, including parts of the counties of Fresno, Kern, Kings and Tulare.

CPR's pre-Primary election issue described the 16th as holding future, but not present, potential for the GOP, because "the Democrat nominee will be popular Latino Assemblyman Dean Florez." That was before Florez actually tried to get to the bottom of the Davis Administration's Oracle deal. For this demonstration of courage and integrity, he was booted out as chairman of the investigating committee and became a local hero among voters of both Parties.

Thus, GOP nominee Blair Knox might pull Republican registration — 36 percent — in November, but will not break the 40 mark. This district does, however, hold significant future potential for the GOP, especially if Republicans nominate an attractive Hispanic candidate. President Bush received 43 percent here, and Bill Jones carried the district in 1998.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 18 *Reg: R 50%; D 34%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Jack O'Connell (D) **termed out.** **Geography:** Eastern San Joaquin Valley counties of Tulare, Kern, and San Bernardino.

The "all incumbents" redistricting that took place called for 15 GOP Senate seats. Before that deal, the 18th District was centered on the central coast and competitive for both Parties. After that deal, the district is centered in the southeastern San Joaquin Valley and

so solidly Republican that GOP Assemblyman Roy Ashburn, who had no opponent in the Primary, also has none in November. Happy trails Roy.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 20 *Reg: D 55%; R 25%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Richard Alarcon (D). **Geography:** Central and eastern San Fernando Valley in L.A. County.

A district that deserves GOP attention in its outreach to Hispanics, the 20th is full of lower- and middle-class working Hispanic families ripe for a GOP message of economic opportunity and solid support for the family. These voters are ethnically loyal (58 percent voted for Antonio Villaraigosa for Los Angeles mayor) and socially conservative (67 percent supported the 2000 Defense of Marriage Act). At the moment, they are also loyal Democrats, largely because Democrats are the only Party talking to them. Blue-collar, socially conservative Hispanics offer an obvious GOP "big tent" Party-building opportunity, but Republican leaders seem, or pretend, not to notice. No Republican candidate appears on the ballot, so Democrat Richard Alarcon is assured a second term. Now that's what I call outreach!

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 22 *Reg: D 62%; R 18%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Richard Polanco (D) **termed out.** **Geography:** Southwestern San Gabriel Valley; parts of northeast and central L.A.

A classic, Phil Burtonesque Rorschach test-shaped district, the 22nd was drawn specifically to accommodate Assemblyman Gil Cedillo. It's bizarre lines have worked their intended magic. Unopposed in the March Primary, Cedillo is also flying solo on the November ballot.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 24 *Reg: D 57%; R 24%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Gloria Romero (D). **Geography:** Southwestern San Gabriel Valley, all of the city of East Los Angeles, the Highland Park and El Sereno portions of Los Angeles.

First elected in a special election in March of 2001, Senator Gloria Romero can expect a long Senate stay. She is not termed out until 2010. Republican candidate Vince House will definitely not be "in the House" come December.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 26 *Reg: D 68%; R 13%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Kevin Murray (D). **Geography:** Culver

City, part of Beverly Hills, the Crenshaw, Baldwin Hills, and Hollywood portions of Los Angeles.

Latinos actually outnumber blacks among the voting age population in S.D. 26: 32 to 28 percent, though blacks have an edge in actual registration. This presented the possibility of an ethnically-divisive Primary. Democrat powers (and wanna-be powers, included Hispanics) strove mightily to avoid that, guaranteeing Senator Murray's return for a final term. But look for a real donnybrook in 2006 when this seat opens up.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 28 Reg: D 49%; R 30%; DS 16%

Incumbent: Deborah Bowen (D). **Geography:** Los Angeles County's South Bay coast; the inland cities of Lomita and Torrance.

28 covers another part of California that used to be reliable GOP turf. Demographic changes have made it fairly reliable Democrat territory. Past Republican office holders have ranged from the bland — and infinitely pliable, as Democrat colleagues could attest — Senator Bob Beverly to the distinctly non-bland, non-pliable Congressman Bob Dornan. What had been a GOP ebbtide became a *tsunami* in 1998 with Assemblywoman Deborah Bowen's election to the Senate here, completing establishment of a Democrat hegemony over the area's legislative seats.

The district, like most of California's coast, trends Democrat and libertarian on most issues. Additionally, Bowen is a veteran of tough campaigns. But Republican Jo Ann Hill is an attractive, articulate candidate who promises an aggressive, door-to-door effort. The district retains some of the local GOP infrastructure that made the area safe for pachyderms for so long. While the 28th, at this writing, remains a longshot, the right combination of circumstances could allow Hill to put a real scare into Bowen, especially if the incumbent is caught looking ahead to Congressional and statewide office opportunities in 2006.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 30 Reg: D 59%; R 25%; DS 12%

Incumbent: Martha Escutia (D). **Geography:** Southeastern L.A. County.

This is one of California's few legislative seats with an outright majority of Hispanic voters. Senator Martha Escutia represented this part of L.A. in the Assembly, and will easily return to Sacramento for her final Senate term. GOP nominee John Robertson received 23 percent against Escutia in '98, and might well equal that mark this year.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 32 Reg: D 55%; R 30%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Nell Soto (D). **Geography:** Most of San Bernardino and Colton; Fontana. Montclair, Ontario, and Rialto in San Bernardino County and all of Pomona in L.A. County.

Democrat map-makers turned this once competitive, hotly contested district into a safe home for incumbent Nell Soto, who was first elected to the seat in a March 2000 special election.

The newly-drawn, Hispanic-heavy district, which might respond to a GOP Latino in the future, this year will return Soto to Sacramento. GOP nominee Ken Robertson has pockets of strong GOP precincts to work with, but they won't be enough to put him within shouting distance of Soto.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 34 Reg: D 46%; R 36%; DS 13%

Incumbent: Joe Dunn (D). **Geography:** Central Orange County.

Winner of the "sleeper district of the election" award, the race in the 34th deserves watching. Senator Joe Dunn, elected by 2,000 votes after running a particularly ugly, trial lawyer-financed race against Rob Hurtt in 1998, is still clearly the favorite. He will certainly have all the tort-related money he needs again this year, with all the other usual advantages of incumbency thrown in.

But GOP nominee Araceli Gonzalez presents an intriguing profile in this 46 percent Democrat, 29 percent Hispanic district. Her father emigrated from Mexico in 1963. She attended Whittier College and is an active volunteer in a host of local organizations. She served one term on the Cudahy City Council and last year she was national Hispanic media spokeswoman for



16th SD Democrat
Dean Florez actually tried to get to the bottom of the Davis administration's Oracle deal.

the Bush-Cheney campaign. The state GOP is looking for a breakthrough with Hispanic voters who fit the basically conservative profile of those in this district.

Don't be surprised if this turns into an intense, expensive race before November. We've changed the district's rating from "likely" to "leans Democrat."

LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 36 Reg: R 50%; D 30%; DS 15%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Ray Haynes (R) termed out. **Geography:** Southwest Riverside County, inland San Diego County; a small portion of San Diego.

In the March Primary, the 36th featured a southern version of S.D. 4's Aa-nestad/Dickerson battle, with Assemblyman Dennis Hollingsworth the conservative and Assemblywoman Charlene Zettel the liberal. Although Zettel did not repeat Dickerson's mistake in voting for a tax-increasing budget, the ideological chasm separating these candidates was actually wider and deeper than had been the case in S.D. 4.

Hollingsworth is an unabashed conservative, and vociferously proud of it; Zettel an unabashed moderate-to-liberal, and vociferously proud of *that*. CPR's pre-Primary analysis said Zettel's strength was her enormous fund raising advantage over Hollingsworth, and that her weakness was an ideology well to the left of the district's typical GOP voter. Hollingsworth's position was the opposite: strength in a philosophy that matched the electorate's and a weakness in the cash department.

Hollingsworth had to raise enough to inform GOP Primary voters of his differences with Zettel. He did so, and ended up with a surprisingly easy 54 to 46 percent win. But the surprise in entirely in his margin of victory, not that he won, given his ability to raise the necessary funds and an honest look at the district's GOP electorate. In S.D. 4, and several other legislative districts, conservatives regularly beat moderates in Republican primaries. This is a "dog bites man" non-story. But some observers insist on being surprised when it happens, and search around for any way of explaining it away, saying, perhaps, that "a conservative tide was running" or, in this case, "2002 was not the moderates' year" in GOP primaries. They may as well greet the morning saying, "Well, this wasn't a sun rising in the West kind of day." Except in 2000, when Democrat

voters skewed the outcomes of several Republican primaries, there has been no "year of the moderate" in a California GOP primary since Richard Nixon beat Joe Shell in the 1962 gubernatorial race. Supposed "experts" who continue to profess amazement or consternation when conservatives win Republican primaries are either myopic or incompetent.

Democrat Adrienne Westall will do nothing to stall Hollingsworth's bandwagon. He will breeze into the Senate, and likely take advantage of a safe seat to move quickly up the leadership ladder.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

Supposed 'experts' who continue to profess amazement

when conservatives win Republican primaries are either

myopic or incompetent.

DISTRICT 38 Reg: R 48%; D 30%; DS 17%

Incumbent: Bill Morrow (R). **Geography:** Southern Orange and northern San Diego county coasts.

Camping enthusiast Bill Morrow should be a very happy camper in this solid-gold GOP district. President Bush beat Al Gore by 17 points, and Dan Lungren racked up an 11-point advantage over Davis.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 Reg: D 48%; R 31%; DS 15%

Incumbent: OPEN SEAT — Steve Peace (D) termed out. **Geography:** All of Imperial County, a slice of southeast Riverside County, San Diego County cities on the U.S./Mexican border, and San Diego's southern portions.

Sacramento map-makers turned what was a competitive district into one that will be hard — though not impossible — for Democrats to lose. And Former Assemblywoman Denise Ducheny won't be the Democrat to do that. In the right year, with the right combination of candidates, the GOP could make a run here, but the first realistic opportunity will probably come in 2010, when soon-to-be Senator Ducheny terms out. Republican Michael Giorgino is an articulate, knowledgeable candidate, and has pockets of GOP strength he can work and carry handily in November. But they will not likely be enough to overcome a 15-point Democrat registration edge, coupled with a 15 percent "Decline to State" registration that leans heavily left.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

CPR

U.S. Congress

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO

MEMBER, CPR EDITORIAL BOARD

DISTRICT 1 *Reg: D 47%; R 31%; DS 15%*
Incumbent: Mike Thompson (D) Geography: All of the counties of Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, some of Sonoma and part of Yolo County.
Incumbent Mike Thompson was secure enough in this north coast enclave before redistricting added even more loyal Democrats. Republican Lawrence Wiesner did respectably well in the Primary, and the total number of GOP votes cast was surprisingly close to the Democrat total (only 14,000 less out of 165,000 cast). A Green Party candidate might have given Thompson reason to worry, but no Green filed, so Thompson will coast home on the coast.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 2 *Reg: R 46%; D 37%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Wally Herger (R) Geography: All of Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Yuba counties.

California's Central Valley from Bakersfield to the Oregon border is one of the state's few areas tending Republican. This district begins just north of Sacramento and goes to the state's northern boundary. Wally Herger, one of Congress' most reliable conservative votes, had what must have been a surreal Primary experience — challenged by two Republicans, both accusing him of being insufficiently conservative. 89 percent of the GOP electorate disagreed. Democrat Mike Johnson will hold Herger below his Primary mark, but not by a lot.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 *Reg: R 44%; D 39%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Doug Ose (R) Geography: Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, Sacramento, and Solano counties.

Containing eastern Sacramento County and reliably Republican Alpine and Calaveras Counties, this district has been a safe nest for incumbent Doug Ose. Democrat Howard Beeman won't raise much ruckus in November, but Ose's musing of leaving the seat to run against Senator Barbara Boxer in 2004 already has the local GOP choosing sides for the '04 Primary.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 *Reg: R 47%; D 34%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: John Doolittle (R) Geography: El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, and Sierra counties, and the north-eastern Sacramento County.

Lines from Folsom Lake to Lake Tahoe, and north from each lake to the Oregon border would reasonably approximate this reconfigured, but still quite

conservative, district. Conservative leader John Doolittle has represented different parts of this district since his first election to the state Senate in 1980. He received 78 percent of the GOP vote in a seriously contested Primary. Democrat Mark Norberg will not distract Doolittle from his real task this fall: helping to elect other Republicans to insure GOP control of the House. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 5 *Reg: D 55%; R 26%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Robert Matsui (D)
Geography: Most of Sacramento County.

With GOP precincts north and east of Sacramento parceled out to Doug Ose and John Doolittle, Bob Matsui will continue his undefeated streak here. Sacramento County as a whole is becoming more Republican, but Matsui has none of those areas to worry about in November. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 6 *Reg: D 51%; R 28%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Lynn Woolsey (D) **Geography: All of Marin and most of Sonoma County.**

Welcome to Marin County: jump in the hot tub, hoist a glass of buttery chardonnay to American Taliban John Walker, or brew a carafe of shade-grown "fair trade" coffee. Democrat Lynn Woolsey faithfully represents her slavishly politically-correct constituents. The district's few Republicans are politically to the left of most Democrats anywhere else in the country. GOP nominee Paul Erickson might as well hang up his Birkenstocks and mellow out. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 7 *Reg: D 57%; R 23%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: George Miller (D) **Geography: Northern Contra Costa and southern Solano counties.**

This district is bifurcated by the Carquinez Straits. Not to worry, as the Democrat mapmakers managed to meet the legal requirement that districts be "contiguous" by including the Carquinez bridge as the connector between the two halves. The Miller name has been on the ballot in this area for decades, and incumbent George will continue the long family tradition of easy victories. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 8 *Reg: D 57%; R 13%; DS 24%*

Incumbent: Nancy Pelosi (D) **Geography: All but**

the southwest portion of San Francisco.

With most of the City/County of San Francisco, this district is as liberal as you might expect. It's dreadfully left-wing politics is superbly represented by its dreadfully left-wing congresswoman, Nancy Pelosi.

SAFE DEMOCRAT



**Republican Beth Rogers,
who speaks fluent Spanish,
was on the air before
Capps with commercials
in both languages.**

DISTRICT 9 *Reg: D 64%; R 12%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Barbara Lee (D) **Geography: In Alameda County: Oakland, Berkeley, and Castro Valley.**

Since Josef Stalin is dead and the Soviet Empire collapsed, Congresswoman Barbara Lee serves as a sort-of walking history lesson, resurrecting an ideological mindset otherwise available mostly in history books. This political oddity represents Oakland and Berkeley well.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 10 *Reg: D 46%; R 35%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Ellen Tauscher (D) **Geography: Parts of Contra Costa, Alameda, Sacramento, and Solano counties.**

Democrat map-makers changed this district dramatically from the one that sent conservative Bill Baker to Congress. Had they not done so, Ellen Tauscher would be near the top of most "vulnerable" lists. A sufficient GOP base remains to mount a serious future threat. GOP write-in Gregory Ellis won't manage that this year.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 11 *Reg: R 46%; D 39%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Richard Pombo (R) **Geography: Most of San Joaquin County, and parts of Alameda, Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties.**

Who would have thought Richard Pombo would owe a thank you to Ellen Tauscher and Gary Condit? Democrats moved Demo precincts into C.D. 10 (to save Tauscher) and C.D. 18 (to beat Condit), leaving Pombo scrumptious scraps of loyal GOP areas spread through parts of four counties. Pombo wants to move up the GOP House leadership ladder and this district will help. Though seemingly close in registration, it is full of "straight-ticket" Republicans, enabling him to help other GOP candidates this fall. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 12 *Reg: D 52%; R 24%; DS 19%*

Incumbent: Tom Lantos (D) Geography: Southwest San Francisco and north San Mateo County.

Tom Lantos, who sometimes sounds like a poor Henry Kissinger impression, is an institution in this peninsular district. Republican Michael Moloney will be baloney when the voters finish with him in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 13 Reg: D 54%; R 24%; DS 17%

Incumbent: Fortney Stark (D) Geography: All but the far northern part of Alameda County.

One of Congress's first "peace-nicks," nearly-30-year veteran Pete Stark has the virtue of consistency: America is *always* to blame, from Vietnam to "global warming." His constituents apparently like this self-loathing world view, and will re-elect him easily.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 14 Reg: D 46%; R 31% DS 18%

Incumbent: Anna Eshoo (D) Geography: South San Mateo, east Santa Clara, and north Santa Cruz counties.

By popular demand, I repeat from the 14th's pre-Primary analysis: The answer to the question, "Listeners usually say 'Gesundheit' upon hearing which Congresswoman's name?", Anna Eschoo is a good fit for this district's Silicon Valley and coastal Santa Cruz liberalism. The voters won't have Republican nominee Joseph Nixon to "kick around anymore" after November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 15 Reg: D 45%; R 32%; DS 19%

Incumbent: Mike Honda (D) Geography: The cities of Gilroy, San Jose, Santa Clara, and Milpitas, along with unincorporated areas of Santa Clara County.

With the largest Asian-American population in the state, the 15th's center to center-left politics is a good fit for Mike Honda. An attractive, future, GOP Asian nominee could put the district in play, but not this year. GOP nominee Linda Hermann will not be a factor.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 16 Reg: D 50%; R 28%; DS 18%

Incumbent: Zoe Lofgren (D) Geography: Entirely within the city of San Jose.

San Jose's gritty and grimy center is the core of this district. Solidly Democrat — giving Al Gore a 30 point margin over George Bush — these voters will handily re-elect Zoe Lofgren over Republican Doug McNea.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 17 Reg: D 50%; R 29% DS 15%

Incumbent: Sam Farr (D) Geography: South Santa

Cruz County; Monterey and San Benito counties.

This district contains some of California's most stunningly beautiful scenery and most stunningly liberal voters. The current incumbent's father also held elective office here. Republican Clint Engler won't interrupt the dynasty.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 18 Reg: D 53%; R 35%; DS 9%

Incumbent: Gary Condit (D) Geography: All of Merced County, most of Stanislaus, and parts of Fresno, San Joaquin, and Madera counties.

Pre-Primary, *CPR* reported that, "conventional wisdom calls for a Cardoza vs. Monteith November contest, but don't mortgage the house on it." As it turned out, that mortgage would have been safe, and both Parties ended up with the candidates their leaders wanted, though you *can* mortgage the house that the GOP preferred to run against Gary Condit.

Not that Democrats having nominated Dennis Cardoza has stopped the national Reps from moving this district to the top of all their target lists. Already Vice President Dick Cheney and Speaker Dennis Hastert have visited the district for the GOP standard bearer, state Senator Dick Monteith. A GOP registration flurry made significant inroads earlier in the year, which have been partially offset by more recent Democrat efforts.

Cardoza faces the delicate task of convincing 17,000 Democrat Condit voters (39 percent of the total), that, despite spending tons of money throwing mud at Condit in the spring, he really thinks Condit is OK, and that good, loyal Democrats who voted for him are even more OK. Condit has been playing coy, and some cogs of his machine are openly helping Monteith. The national Democrats, like the GOP, have made this district a "must win." This race could influence which Party elects the next Speaker. Both Monteith and Cardoza are popular locally; each with a strong voter base. Neither are particularly incendiary, but the two national Parties will provide the pyrotechnics. The district will be a haven for political junkies, a hell for mailmen, and a lesson in no-holds-barred politics for the voters. The race will twist and turn before the winner is known, probably quite late on election night ... or even the next day.

TOSS UP

DISTRICT 19 Reg: R 46%; D 40%, DS 11%

Incumbent: George Radanovich (R) Geography: Fresno, Madera, Stanislaus, and Mariposa counties.

George Radanovich is the latest name mentioned as a possible Barbara Boxer opponent. Given his agricultural ties and general conservative voting record, he could

be a strong candidate, especially if the only opposition is moderate-leaning Congressman Doug Ose and Assemblyman Abel Maldonado. If he *has* eyes on the '04 statewide race, Radanovich is safe enough in this Central Valley stronghold to spend time campaigning for other GOP candidates around the state. Democrat John Veen will be no distraction. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 20 Reg: D 53%; R 33%; DS 10%

Incumbent: Calvin Dooley (D) Geography: Fresno, Kern, and Kings counties.

Cal Dooley has been a loyal Democrat vote in Congress, representing large pockets of non-Democrat voters with distinctly non-Democrat attitudes. This caused him heartburn and close races in the past. All was made well by Democrat map-makers, however, as Dooley was rewarded with a much stronger Democrat district. Republican Andre Minuth will be minus a fighting chance in November. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 21 Reg: R 47%; D 39%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Open Seat — Geography: Most of Fresno and all of Tulare County.

This new seat in what is quickly becoming solid GOP turf saw a spirited Republican Primary, one in which GOP voters punished the presumed front-runner for an atrocious vote in Sacramento. The three leading Primary candidates were Assemblyman Mike Briggs, former Fresno Mayor Jim Patterson, and dairy farmer Devin Nunes, in that order. As a conservative incumbent office holder, Briggs would normally have had a huge advantage. But he squandered it by joining three GOP Assemblymen to vote last summer for Gray Davis's budget — in effect, voting for a tax increase. In the end, that dragged Briggs down to third place.

And it left Patterson and Nunes to slug it out, with Nunes ultimately prevailing by 2,000 votes (4 percent). Whatever hard feelings resulted have been soothed, and Democrat David LaPere is no threat. But the Primary's lesson (alongside the defeat of another Davis budget-supporting Assemblyman, Dick Dickerson) was clearly heard in the Capitol. California's "ag" country voters gave Assembly Republicans the will to hold out for two months on the Davis budget this year. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 22 Reg: R 51%; D 32%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Bill Thomas (R) Geography: Most of Kern and San Luis Obispo counties; part of north L.A. County.

Bill Thomas, who sometimes seems to enjoy fighting fellow Republicans more than taking on Democrats, is

not threatened by Democrat nominee Jaime Corvera. His intra-Party, anti-conservative crusade won't bring repercussions in November. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 23 Reg: D 45%; R 32%; DS 16%

Incumbent Lois Capps (D) Geography: A thin slice of coast communities in San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties.

The newly-drawn "Highway 1 district" — which rarely ventures further inland than that scenic thoroughfare — was improved a bit for Lois Capps, but a strong GOP base remains, and Republicans nominated an attractive candidate in Beth Rogers. Rogers, who speaks fluent Spanish, was on the air before Capps with commercials in both languages. Beneficiary of a fund-raising visit by National GOP Congressional Committee Chairman Tom Davis, Rogers also has small business, environmental, and educational (she was a teacher) credentials to appeal to the district's self-consciously moderate voters.

Mrs. Capps knows how to mud wrestle, as she showed in her smear-filled campaigns against Tom Bordonaro. But facing another woman could throw Capps off her game. Democrats enjoy a large registration advantage, but their total is well below 50 percent, and only 7,000 more Democrats than Republicans voted in March. This race is worth watching. Based on Rogers' local strength, it's been moved from "safe Democrat" to "leans Democrat." **LEANS DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 24 Reg: (R) R 46%; D 35%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Elton Gallegly Geography: Most of inland Santa Barbara and Ventura counties.

Democrats apparently grew tired of spending money against Gallegly every two years with nothing to show for it. They solved that problem by drawing him a safe home base, combining conservative Democrats and loyal Republicans. Even Dan Lungren carried this district, for cryin' out loud. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 25 Reg: R 45%; D 36%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Howard "Buck" McKeon (R) Geography: Inyo and Mono counties, high desert part of San Bernardino County, and an Antelope Valley portion and the Santa Clarita section of Los Angeles County.

Gun-owning, socially conservative Republicans, joining with gun-owning, socially conservative Democrats, make this high-desert centered district a virtual Valhalla for gun owning, socially conservative Buck McKeon. Perennial Democrat candidate Bob Conaway need not fear having to stop campaigning in order to assume office. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 26 *Reg: R 46%; D 35%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: David Dreier (R) **Geography: Eastern L.A. and southwestern San Bernardino Counties.**

This district is on the cusp, which is not good for Republicans in the long term. Its GOP registration is aging, and, as actuarial tables take their toll, it is shrinking. But Democrats probably must wait until the next redistricting to have a shot at this turf, or, at least, until David Dreier is no longer on the ballot. Dreier is safe enough to spend the fall collecting chits campaigning for other GOP candidates, if he wants to. It will be interesting to see where the Congressman spends his fall afternoons. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 27 *Reg: D 49%; R 32%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Brad Sherman (D) **Geography: The north and west portions of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County.**

This district illustrates Democrat establishment use and abuse of Hispanic voters. Had they wanted to do so, Democrat map-makers could easily have made this a safe, Hispanic majority, Democrat seat. But that would have meant ousting either Brad Sherman or Howard Berman, forcing one of them to run in a competitive seat against a strong Republican challenger. So the Democrats forgot all about affirmative action and divvied up the heavily Latino Valley precincts, giving most to Sherman, but not enough to endanger him in a Democrat primary against a local Latino leader.

The results are, first, a diluted Hispanic voter base — a point the Democrat Party's Hispanic "leaders" seem to have overlooked — and, second, a safe Democrat seat for Brad Sherman, who will return to Congress to go on talking about opening doors for minorities and other noble sentiments. GOP nominee Robert Levy will likely improve on the 36 percent that both Dan Lungren and President Bush received here, but not by enough to put Sherman in jeopardy. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 28 *Reg: D 58%; R 22%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Howard Berman (D) **Geography: South and central parts of the San Fernando Valley.**

The other half of the District 27 story: Before redistricting, 28 was another logical candidate to be carved into a district likely to elect an Hispanic. But long-time

occupant Howard Berman's brother Michael, in charge of drawing the new lines, reduced his Latino registration from 35 to 27 percent. GOP nominee David Hernandez, Jr., might make some inroads among Hispanic Democrats, but his only likely victories will be of the symbolic sort. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**



51st CD Republican
Maria Garcia tests the
GOP's oft-touted goal
of reaching out
to Hispanic voters.

DISTRICT 29 *Reg: D 47%; R 34%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Adam Schiff (D) **Geography: Alhambra, Glendale, Burbank, Monterey Park, Pasadena, and South Pasadena in Los Angeles County.**

Interesting Primary dynamics move this district from "safe" to "likely Democrat." Adam Schiff was elected in 2000, defeating incumbent Jim Rogan in a particularly nasty, post-Clinton impeachment campaign. Then, in redistricting, the lines were changed to help Schiff, eliminating GOP voters in the foothills and adding

Democrat precincts in the San Gabriel Valley. That gave Democrats a 45 to 34 percent registration edge, and the pre-Primary "conventional wisdom" — shared by *CPR* — was that Schiff was safe.

But the March vote indicated otherwise. Not only did Republican Jim Scileppi come within a whisker of equaling Schiff's vote total, but exactly 32 more Democrats turned out to vote, district-wide, than did Republicans. Part of the answer was a contested GOP gubernatorial Primary alongside a Davis coronation. And, additionally, many of the "Democrat" precincts in the San Gabriel Valley added to help Schiff are full of low-income, traditionally low-turnout voters.

The GOP base here still has bitter memories of Schiff's slashing campaign against home-town boy Rogan, so Schiff can't count a significant cross-over vote. Still, Schiff was able to spend \$4.3 million against Rogan and ought to be able to raise as much as he thinks he needs this year. Certainly the national Democrats place this district near the top of their "must save" list. The national GOP will surely take a couple of quick looks, and maybe more. On that basis, and on the basis of the Primary numbers, we've moved this district out of the "safe Democrat" column. Schiff remains the favorite, and might end up winning handily. But he's going to have to work at it. **LIKELY DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 30 *Reg: D 52%; R 28%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Henry Waxman (D) Geography: Western parts of Los Angeles city, all of Beverly Hills, West Hollywood, and Santa Monica, and unincorporated portions of L.A. County.

Rich, white, guilt-ridden liberals abound in this mainly Westside L.A. district. They are ably represented by rich, white, guilt-ridden liberal Henry Waxman. We're not sure if GOP candidate Tony Goss is rich, white, guilt-ridden, or liberal, but *sure* he won't be in Congress come January.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 31 *Reg: D 63%; R 17%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Xavier Becerra (D) Geography: The northeastern portions of Los Angeles.

The voters in this 70 percent Latino district think Xavier Becerra is *muy simpatico*. GOP nominee Luis Vega will do little to change that view on election day.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 32 *Reg: D 55%; R 26%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Hilda Solis (D) Geography: Southern San Gabriel Valley in L.A. County, including Baldwin Park, El Monte, and West Covina.

This unremarkable collection of middle class suburbs is represented by the thoroughly unremarkable Hilda Solis. In November, Republican Emma Fischbeck's vote will also be unremarkable.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 33 *Reg: D 69%; R 13%. DS 14%*

Incumbent: Diane Watson (D) Geography: All of the city of Culver City and the central portions of the city of Los Angeles.

The top GOP vote total in a regular election over the last 10 years in this district was Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush's 22 percent. Noel Irwin Hentschel spent a cool million in the 2001 special election against Diane Watson. Her reward was 20 percent of the vote. Watson, a former ambassador to Micronesia, won't have to micromanage her campaign to assure 80 percent-plus in the fall.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 34 *Reg: D 62%; R 21%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Lucille Roybal-Allard (D) Geography: The eastern and central portions of Los Angeles and the entire cities of Downey and Huntington Park.

Lucille Roybal-Allard carries a proud family name in this eastside L.A. district. Her father, Ed Roybal, began the dynasty 40-plus years ago in local elective office.

The Roybal succession is in no danger from GOP-er Wayne Miller.

SAFE DEMOCRAT



**In Bob Filner's
51st CD, the
defining issue could
be one of those pesky
'social issues.'**

DISTRICT 35 *Reg: D 69%; R 14%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Maxine Waters (D) D 69%; R 14%; DS 11% Geography: Central, western parts of Los Angeles; the city of Inglewood.

Pre-Primary, we said Maxine Waters was "as full of bombast and leftist ideology as ever." Why gild the lilly? The description stands. Too few voters are turned off by Waters' borderline "race baiting" rhetoric to give Republican Ross Moen a chance.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 36 *Reg: D 46%; R 33%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Jane Harman (D) Geography: Mar Vista and Venice portions of Los Angeles; cities of El Segundo, Manhattan Beach, Hermosa Beach, and Torrance.

The 36th is another district where Primary numbers hint at an interesting fall contest. Although Democrats out-register Republicans 46 to 32 percent, only 5,000 more Democrats voted in March. Can GOP nominee Stuart Johnson parlay that into a real contest for incumbent Jane Harman? Probably not, Harman being independently wealthy and not slow to open her checkbook when campaign necessity calls. This district remains "safe Democrat," but still worth checking on as November approaches.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 37 *Reg: D 63%; R 18%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Juanita Millender-McDonald (D) Geography: Most of the cities of Long Beach, Carson, and Compton; the "harbor corridor" part of Los Angeles.

The 37th and Jane Harman's 36th districts contain the remnants of Republican Steve Horn's old seat. Juanita McDonald has represented most of it in Congress, and George Bush's 21 percent showing indicates the kind of contest GOP nominee Oscar Velasco will be able to give McDonald in the fall.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 38 *Reg: D 61%; R 22%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Grace Napolitano (D) Geography:

Southern San Gabriel Valley cities of Montebello, Norwalk, Pico Rivera, and Pomona.

The 38th, tailor-drawn to re-elect Grace Napolitano, surprisingly gave Primary opponent Greg Salcido 35 percent. But that's the high-water mark of Napolitano's danger. Republican Alex Burrloa can count the fall a success if he bests Bush's 28 percent. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 39 Reg: D 55%; R 28% DS 13%

Incumbent: OPEN Seat — Geography: Southeastern portion of Los Angeles County, including the cities of Cerritos, Lakewood, Lynwood, and South Gate.

An interesting Democrat Primary, both for what did and did not happen. What did happen was Linda Sanchez winning, putting herself in position to join sister Loretta as the first sisters to serve together in the U. S. House. What did *not* happen was Assemblywoman Sally Havice putting together the funds necessary to take advantage of a split in the Hispanic vote between Sanchez and South Gate Councilman Hector De La Torre. With both De La Torre and Sanchez running aggressive campaigns, Havice — who represents much of the district in the Assembly — was positioned to run up the middle and win. But her dismal fund raising brought an embarrassing third-place finish at 19 percent. GOP nominee Tim Escobar might even double that figure. But he tops out right about there. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 40 Reg: R 48%; D 34%; DS 13%

Incumbent: Ed Royce (R) Geography: North Orange County cities of Anaheim, Fullerton, and Orange.

One of the House GOP Caucus's hardest working members, Ed Royce is considered a Rolls by his constituents (sorry, I couldn't resist). His customary 65 to 70 percent re-election total will leave Democrat Christina Avalos looking like a used Yugo November 5.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 41 Reg: R 46%; D 36%; DS 12%

Incumbent: Jerry Lewis (R) Geography: Most of San Bernardino County; northwest Riverside County.

Jerry Lewis has represented parts of this district since his 1968 state Assembly election. Even without help from Dean Martin, this Lewis will continue a hit in his district, bifurcated between urbanized San Bernardino/Redlands and the Mojave Desert. Democrat nominee Keith Johnson will not horn in on Lewis' show.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 42 Reg: R 51%; D 31%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Gary Miller (R) Geography: Southeast Los Angeles County and northeast Orange County.

Gary Miller had to tussle in this district's previous incarnation, as a growing Latino population was tilting local politics toward the Democrats. But Miller, benefiting from the "all incumbents" gerrymander, now has reliable GOP voters throughout this tri-county district. Democrat Richard Waldron will have to work hard to match Gore's 39 percent. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 43 Reg: D 55%; R 30%; DS 10%

Incumbent: Joe Baca (D) Geography: Heavily urbanized, western San Bernardino County, including the cities of Fontana, Ontario, and San Bernardino.

In one sense Joe Baca is an endangered species — a moderate, pro-gun Democrat in a caucus dominated by ultra-liberal gun-phobics. But his views match well those of his working-class constituents. GOP nominee Wendy Neighbor will do the neighborly thing come fall — lose by a bunch.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 44 Reg: R 49%; D 34%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Ken Calvert (R) Geography: Western Riverside and southwestern Orange counties, including the cities of Riverside and San Clemente.

Sometimes-embattled Ken Calvert can breath easy in this redrawn district that now includes straight ticket San Clemente GOP voters. November will see no blast-off for Democrat Louis Vandenberg.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 45 Reg: R 46%; D 38%; DS 11%

Incumbent: Mary Bono (R) Geography: Most of Riverside County.

Though the registration numbers appear close, the growth areas of this district are filling up with Republican refugees from L.A. and Orange counties. The voters will return Mary Bono to Congress comfortably.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 46 Reg: R 48%; D 33%; DS 14%

Incumbent: Dana Rohrabacher (R) Geography: Coastal and central Orange County and the Palos Verdes portion of Los Angeles County.

It's a return to old surfing territory for libertarian GOP incumbent Dana Rohrabacher, who represented Palos Verdes in Congress some years ago. The rest of this district is equally heavy with Republican voters, who will turn aside Democrat Gerrie Schipske's candidacy, so Rohrabacher can catch a wave back to the House.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 47 Reg: D 48%; R 34%; DS 13%

Incumbent: Loretta Sanchez (D) Geography: Central Orange County.

This district contains every possible loyal Democrat precinct within reach, but it is still not a long-term lock for Democrats. Despite 48 percent "D" registration, 42 percent of the 2000 vote went to President Bush. The 47th holds possibilities for future Republicans. But this year's GOP nominee, Jeff Chavez, has announced he won't actively campaign, so Sanchez can relax. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 48 *Reg: R 53%; D 28%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Chris Cox (R) Geography: South coastal Orange County.

A district with fewer Democrats than any other in California will permit Chris Cox to concentrate either on moving up the GOP congressional ladder or running against Senator Boxer in '04. Democrat John Graham would have to be crackers to think he has a chance of winning. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 49 *Reg: R 49%; D 31%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Darrell Issa (R) Geography: Southwest-ern Riverside and northwestern San Diego counties.

The incumbents' dream for Darryl Issa: no Democrat filed to oppose him. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 50 *Reg: R 46%; D 313%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Randy "Duke" Cunningham (R) Geography: Central San Diego County and a small north-ern portion of the city of San Diego.

Former fighter pilot Duke Cunningham won't have to activate his shields to fend off Democrat Del Stewart. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 51 *Reg: D 49%; R 30%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Bob Filner (D) Geography: Imperial County, southern portions of San Diego County in-cluding the cities of Chula Vista and San Diego.

The 51st presents an interesting test of Republicans' oft-touted goal of reaching out to Hispanic voters. In a district now 53 percent Latino in population and 39 percent Latino in voter registration, the GOP nominee is Maria Garcia, facing Democrat Bob Filner. For those who attended public schools, let me explain that Garcia is Hispanic and Filner is not. Seems ready-made for a major, national GOP effort, you say? Not so fast. The defining issue here could be one of those pesky "social issues": abortion.

Here's the lowdown. Garcia and her GOP Primary



**Republicans think
2002 provides a
chance to take
out freshman
Susan Davis.**

opponent, fellow pro-life Hispanic Willie Durazo, received a total of 19,444 votes in March. Filner's Democrat Primary opponent, pro-life Hispanic Danny Ramirez, received 9,692 (30 percent of the Democrat vote). That's 29,136 votes for pro-life Hispanics. For non-Hispanic, pro-abortion Filner: 22,608 votes. And Democrat Ramirez plans to campaign actively for Republican Garcia. Here are the makings of an interesting campaign ... if — and *only* if — the national GOP makes an effort here. The 51st affords Republicans a chance to show their "big tent" is more than rhetoric. Based on the Primary, we re-rate the district from "safe" to "leans Democrat."

LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 52 *Reg: R 46%; D 32%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Duncan Hunter (R) Ge-ography: Most of inland and eastern San Diego County.

The few Democrat loyalists living in the old 52nd were moved to help Susan Davis in the 53rd, leaving Duncan Hunter safe as can be. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 53 *Reg: D 42%; R 32%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Susan Davis (D) Geography: The cen-tral and northern portions of the city of San Diego.

GOP brass has eyes for this district, partly because it was once held (under slightly more GOP-friendly lines) by Brian Bilbray, and partly because March's vote totals for both Parties were about even. Susan Davis won this seat by a hair in 2000, and Republicans think 2002 provides a chance to take out a Democrat freshman before she can establish herself. Look for lots of polling before big bucks are spent. But this seat, along with the 51st, could make San Diego County home to two of a hand-ful of competitive congressional races nationally. Re-publican candidate Bill Van De Weghe has an impres-sive resume, and enjoyed heavy-weight GOP support of all philosophical stripes in winning his Primary.

Incumbent/former Assemblywoman Davis must be considered at least a slight favorite. But this seat is on national target lists and likely to remain so, barring an unforeseen Van De Weghe meltdown. Davis could use her fundraising advantage to open an early lead on Van De Weghe, discouraging heavy GOP dollar investment. On the other hand, the campaign could develop into a barn burner.

LEANS DEMOCRAT

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C R I T I C U S

Spotted Dick

B Y G . B . T E N N Y S O N

WELCOME TO an early Christmas pudding column served as an antidote to and/or dessert following the *olla podrida* of annual follies and infuriations offered in the previous number. Just as that collocation seemed best described by using the name of a foreign dish, so this one takes its title from a different concoction from a different country. It too requires an explanation for most readers. Here it is.

Spotted Dick is the name of a particular kind of roly-poly pudding much favored in the Mother Country. It is somewhat akin to the American jelly roll, but a roly-poly pudding is properly defined as "suet pudding wrapped in a cloth and steamed." When currants or raisins are added, it is known as spotted dick and sometimes as spotted dog, both terms meaning originally any light-colored dog with black or dark spots, especially a Dalmatian or a Talbot. Like the pudding, the Talbot does not seem to have crossed the ocean, except as a surname, but a Talbot was a mostly white dog that is said to be the

ancestor of the bloodhound. The breed is, as far as I know, extinct, but its name, unlike the Dalmatian, is still found in pub names, probably because it often appears in heraldry. Criticus in his salad days used to frequent a raffish pub of that name in Welshpool, Wales, introduced to it by a seasoned pub-crawling *confère* who was a native of the area and never met a pub he didn't like. Of course the pub sign in Welshpool featured a Talbot. In any case, the pudding seems never to have been called spotted Talbot, probably because there once existed a dish called a Talbot, which was a skinned hare, ground up with blood, bread, and spices. No wonder it too is extinct.

Frequently a dessert in public (*i.e.*, private) prep and boarding schools, and not always fondly remembered, spotted dick still has its admirers and can readily be bought in any British supermarket. The description on the packaged Spotted Dick calls it "a moist suet sponge pudding with currants." It is indeed quite tasty, resembling a bakery confection, with sugar, currants, flour, yeast, water, suet (nowadays vegetable oil, though in its pure form suet is derived from animal fats), mixed spices, and lemon zest, to name the main ingredients. It is really something like a bran muffin. Criticus may be the only person read-

G.B. Tennyson is CPR's occasional Master of the Revels and amateur cartographer. He has threatened to direct his redesigning talents next to Europe and then, Tomorrow the World!

ers will know of who relishes spotted dick, but that is in large part because Criticus is a devoted lover of black currants and would like to see a much wider use of them in this country, starting with general availability of black currant juice. He is thinking of founding a political party on a platform of more black currants and more hazelnuts (also a Critical passion). But that's another column.

As should by now be clear, to offer my Constant and other readers a Literary Spotted Dick is to offer them a delicacy. It consists of many currants of good things that have come to Critical attention during the year and is designed as cheer for the Holiday Season. So, herewith some tasty pudding.

INTERNET JOLLIFICATIONS

Occasionally something amusing shows up on the Internet to help counterbalance the spam and the pop-up ads. If the following has already surfaced on your screen, just move on to the next currant. This one is called "The Spell-Check" and has been slightly revised by Criticus in the direction of greater convolution from the one that first came his way.

Eye halve a spelling chequer.
It came with my pea sea.
It plainly marques four my revue
Miss steaks eye kin knot sea.
Aye strike a quay and type a wart
And weight fore it two say
Weather eye am wrong oar write.
It shows me straight a weigh.

Somewhat more serious, though not without lapses into doggerel, and certainly very much longer than the previous poem, is one titled "English is Tough Stuff" said to have been devised at NATO headquarters near Paris for the purpose of regularizing the huge number of conflicting English pronunciations encountered among a multi-national staff, mostly not native speakers. From internal evidence, Criticus concludes, and you will too, that its otherwise unknown author was a Brit. Because it is so lengthy I am rendering it with slashes to indicate ends of lines rather than space it out in its full form. As before, I have made some Critical adaptations and changes here and

there. Warning: even Constant readers may want to eat of this Christmas pudding in small bites.

Dearest creature in creation, / Study English pronunciation. / I will teach you in my verse / Sounds like corpse, corps, horse, and worse. / I will keep you, Suzy, busy, / Make your head with heat grow dizzy. / Tear in eye, your dress will tear. / So shall I! Oh, hear my prayer.

Just compare heart, beard, and heard, / Dies and diet, lord and word, / Sword and sward, retain and Britain. / (Mind the latter, how it's written.) / Now I surely will not plague you / With such words as plaque and ague. / But be careful how you speak: / Say break and

steak, but bleak and streak, / Cloven, oven, how and low, / Script, receipt, shoe, poem, and toe.

Hear me say, devoid of trickery, daughter, laughter, and Terpsichore, / Typhoid, measles, topsails, aisles, / Exiles, similes, and reviles, / Scholar, vicar, and cigar, / Solar, mica, war and far, / One, anemone, Balmoral, / Kitchen, lichen, laundry, laurel, / Gertrude, German, wind, and mind, / Scene, Melpomene, mankind.

Billet does not rhyme with ballet, / Bouquet, wallet, mallet, chalet. / Blood and flood are not like food, / Viscous, viscount, load and broad, / Toward, to forward, to reward, / And your pronunciation's OK / When you correctly say croquet, / Rounded, wounded, grieve and sieve, / Friend and fiend, alive and live.

Ivy, privy; famous, clamour / And enamour rhyme with hammer. / River, rival, tomb, bomb, comb, / Doll and roll, and some and home. / Stranger does not rhyme with anger, / Neither does devour with clangour. / Souls but foul, haunt but aunt, / Font, front, wont, want, grange, and grant, / Shoes and goes, does and does [*i.e.*, deer].

Now first say finger / And then singer, ginger, linger, / Mauve and gauze, marriage, foliage, mirage, and age. / Query does not rhyme with very, / Nor does fury sound like bury. / Dost, lost, post, and doth, cloth, loath. / Job, nob, bosom, transom. / Though the differences seem little, / We say actual but victual. / Refer does not rhyme with deafer. / Fe-offer does, and zephyr, heifer. / Mint, pint, senate



Spotted Dick is the name of a particular kind of roly-poly pudding much favored in the Mother Country.

and sedate; / Dull, bull, and great, eight, late. / Scenic, Arabic, Pacific, / Science, conscience, scientific; / Liberty, library, heave and heaven, / Rachel, ache, moustache, eleven.

We say hallowed, but allowed, / People, leopard, towed, but vowed. / Mark the differences, moreover, / Between mover, cover, clover; / Leeches, breeches, wise, precise, / Chalice, but police and lice; / Camel, constable, unstable; / Principle, disciple, label; / Petal, panel, and canal; / Wait, surprise, plait, promise, pal; / Worm and storm, chaise, chaos, chair; / Senator, spectator, mayor; / Tour but our and succour, four; / Gas, alas, and Arkansas; / Sea, idea, Korea, area; / Psalm, Maria, but malaria; / Youth, south, southern, cleanse and clearer; / Doctrine, turpentine, marine.

Compare alien with Italian, / Dandelion and battalion, / Sally with ally, yea, ye, / eye, I, ay, aye, whey, and key. / Say aver, but ever, fever, / Neither, leisure, skein, deceiver, / Heron, granary, canary, / Crevice and device and aerie. / Face, but preface, not efface. / Phlegm, phlegmatic, ass, glass, bass [*i.e.*, the male voice]. / Large, but target, gin, give, verging, / Ought, out, joust and scour, scourging. / Ear, but earn and wear and tear / Do not rhyme with hear but ere. / Seven is right, but so is even, / Hyphen, roughen, nephew, Stephen, / Monkey, donkey, Turk and jerk, / Ask, grasp, wasp, and cork and work.

Pronunciation—think of Psyche! / Is a paling stout and spikey. / Won't it make you lose your wits, / Writing groats and saying grits? / It's a dark abyss or tunnel, / Strewn with stones, stowed, solace, gunwale, / Islington and Isle of Wight, / Housewife, verdict and indict. / Finally, which rhymes with enough: / Though, through, plough, or dough, or cough? / Hiccough has the sound of cup. / My advice is, just give up!

READ ANY GOOD BOOKS?

Here's a Critical recommendation for a Christmas book worth reading. It challenges received wisdom in ways that will probably prove more congenial to readers of this journal than to readers of more everyday publications. No, I don't mean the recent spate of liberal-bashing books by such as Anne Coulter, Bernard Goldberg, or Bill O'Reilly, commendable as these are in many respects and suitable as stocking stuffers. I mean something rather more weighty and more suitable for the heavy thinker, namely another book that

fights science with science.

The book is William Dembski's *No Free Lunch*, (Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), a frivolous sounding title for a serious book. The subtitle more than makes up for it; it reads *Why Specified Complexity Cannot Be Purchased without Intelligence*.

"Specified complexity" is the key concept here, and it is akin to the concept of "irreducible complexity" advanced a few years ago by Michael Behe in *Darwin's Black Box* (The Free Press, 1996), to which Criticus called attention at the time. These books are not examples of so-called "creation science," but rather of science science, if I may so put it. That is what makes them so disturbing to the entrenched Darwinian establishment. Yes, like Behe, Dembski is performing a demolition of the Darwinian and neo-Darwinian sacred cows of natural selection, random mutation, and all their offspring.

Criticus is not qualified to summarize Dembski's book, but there is no reason for him to do so, for the author himself has made a challenging book accessible to the average reader by summarizing in his preface the contents of the six chapters. He even outlines a sequence of sections to read and sections that can to be skipped by what he calls "math phobics." You/we know who we/they are. So, pick, choose, and let the light shine in.

On a more jocular note, Criticus cannot forbear to cite two other relatively recent books that have come to his amused attention. Not so strangely, these books have been almost totally ignored by the mainstream press. Knowing how certain interest groups are forever claiming this or that historical figure as one of their own, we ought to be aware that the opposite sometimes occurs. For example, it has long been known that Adolf Hitler was a vegetarian and that he liked animals, but neither the vegetarian movement nor PETA has claimed him as belonging to their flock. Both should be reminded.

Now comes a book by a German history professor, Lothar Machtan, titled *The Hidden Hitler*, which argues that Hitler was a homosexual. It's a lengthy and often turgid piece of work, and it cannot be said to have established its thesis beyond the shadow of a doubt. But it does bring forth some highly suggestive evidence from Hitler's pre-Führer days, especially his conduct



Like Behe, Dembski is performing a demolition of the Darwinian and neo-Darwinian sacred cows of natural selection, random mutation, and all their offspring.

in the military and his consortings among his Munich circle. Machtan even argues that the infamous 1934 assassination of Hitler's intimate friend and known homosexual Ernst Röhm and of his 150 Brown Shirts was Hitler's way of warning all others who knew too much to remain silent. It looks as though Hitler's warning, albeit for other reasons, has extended beyond the grave.

More bizarre yet is the account by one Millie J. McGhee in her *Secrets Uncovered: J. Edgar Hoover — Passing for White*. This is not another argument that Hoover was a homosexual, which remains unproven, or even that he was a cross-dresser. The latter claim has been exposed as an intentional slander concocted by the KGB and never really expected to catch on, though it has, thanks to the liberal media. This is a different story.

Ms. McGhee, a black woman, believes that her family is related by blood to Hoover through their Mississippi and subsequently Maryland and Virginia slave connections. Apparently there have been rumors for many years of a black blood connection, not only among members of her family but also among many blacks in Washington, D.C., where Hoover grew up, and even among FBI agents under Hoover's sway. As with the assertions about Hitler, these made by McGhee about Hoover are highly suggestive without being conclusive, in part because, as also with Hitler, documentation is scanty and some documents have disappeared or been altered. In both cases there appears to have been a precursor imp who later was employed to look after Hillary's Rose Law Firm papers.

Hoover's long-standing antipathy towards blacks is posited as a likely reason for the paucity of records and the strange gaps in what survives. It doubtless also accounts for the failure of the "Black Community" to claim America's most famous lawyer as one of its own. Yet there is an irony that could be exploited, one that a macabre Critical sense of humor quite

likes. It is that in passing for white Hoover not only attended the segregated Washington public schools and the then lily-white George Washington University, but, when there, he joined the fraternity known as the Kappa Alpha Order, the most Southern, the most Confederate fraternity in the nation, and indeed the cosmos. Hoover maintained an active connection with it throughout his life. Talk about a real-life Uncle Remus story — a story with J. Edgar as two characters: "Tar-baby ain't sayin' nu-thin', en Br'er Fox, he lay low."



THE MAP! THE MAP!

As foretold in an ancient prophecy and in response to popular demand, here is the map of the future New World Order, as devised by Criticus. It is several spotted dicks all at once. Criticus believes it is self-explanatory, but he reminds readers that it is his prophetic depiction of the future composition of North America after the break-up caused by unlimited immigration and the col-

lapse of multiculturalism. Aztlán is the southwest after takeover by illegal aliens and expulsion of "Anglos"; ISA is the Independent States of America, the old heartland and the Pacific and Canadian Northwest; CSA is the Confederate States of America, free at last; and USA is the remnant northeast and industrial Midwest. For more detailed information you can revert to the May/June issue of *CPR* and consult Criticus's "Decline and Fall." Note that the map may be subject to further adumbrations. Suggestions welcome.

L'ENVOI

Such has been your Christmas pudding. Of course you will not be surprised to learn that some group or other of Word Scrooges has called for the banning of the term "Spotted Dick" on the grounds that it is indecorous. Of course, if you have that kind of mind, it is. Criticus can but point to the innocence of an earlier day when, in 1892, the *Pall Mall Gazette* could write with calm demeanor: "The Kilburn Sisters daily satisfy hundreds of dockers with soup and Spotted Dick." I hope that *CPR* readers have been equally satisfied.

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